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DISCOURSES

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

BY

JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO KING CHARLES THE FIRST, AND LATE LORD BISHOP OF DOWN & CONNOR.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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THE

THE

RIGHTEOUSNESS EVANGELICAL

DESCRIBED;

THE

CHRISTIAN'S CONQUEST

OVER

THE BODY OF SIN:

FIDES FORMATA;

OR,

FAITH WORKING BY LOVE;

IN THREE SERMONS,

PREACHED AT CHRIST CHURCH, DUBLIN.

To the most Noble and Virtuous Princess,

THE LADY DUCHESS OF ORMOND,

HER GRACE.

MADAM,

I PRESENT your Grace here with a testimony of my *obedience*, and of your zeal for the good of souls. You were in your great charity, not only pleased to pardon the weakness of this discourse, but to hope it might serve as a memorial to those that need it, of the great *necessity of living virtuously*, and by the measures of *Christianity*. Madam, you are too great and too good to have any ambition for the things of this *world*; but I cannot but observe that in your designs for the *other world*, you, by your charity and zeal, adopt yourself into the portion of those ecclesiastics, who humbly hope, and truly labour for the *reward* that is promised to those wise persons

persons who *convert* souls, if our prayers and your desires that every one should be profited in their eternal concerns, cast in a symbol towards this great work, and will give you a title to that great reward: but, Madam, when I received your commands for dispersing some copies of this Sermon, I preceived it was too little to be presented to your eminence; and if it were accompanied with *something else* of the like nature, it might with more profit advance that end which your Grace so piously designed; and therefore I have taken this opportunity to satisfy the desire of some very *honourable* and very *reverend* personages, who required that the two following *Sermons* should also be made fit for the use of those who hoped to receive profit by them. I humbly lay them all at your Grace's feet, begging of God, that even as many may receive advantages by the perusing of them, as either your Grace will desire, or he that preached them did intend. And if your Grace will accept of this *first testimony* of my concurrence with all the *world* that know you, in paying those great regards, which your piety so highly merits, I will endeavour hereafter in some great instance to pursue the intentions of your zeal of souls, and by such a service endeavour to do more benefit to others, and by it, as by that which is most acceptable to your Grace, endear the obedience and services of,

Madam,

Your Grace's most humble

And obedient servant,

JER. DOWN.

THE

SERMON I.

THE

RIGHTEOUSNESS EVANGELICAL

DESCRIBED.

MATTH. v. 20.

For I say unto you, that except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.

REWARDS and punishments are the best sanction of laws; and although the guardians of laws strike sometimes with the softest part of the hand in their executions of sad sentences, yet in the sanction they make no abatements, but so proportion the duty to the reward, and the punishment to the crime, that by these we can best tell what value the lawgiver puts upon the obedience. *Joshua* put a great rate upon the taking of *Kiriath-Sepher*, when the reward of the service was his daughter and a dower. But when the young men ventured to fetch *David* the waters of *Bethlehem*, they had nothing but the praise of their boldness, because their service was no more than the satisfaction

of a curiosity. But as law-givers by their rewards declare the value of the obedience, so do subjects also by the *grandeur* of what they expect, set a value on the law and the law-giver, and do their services accordingly.

And therefore the law of *Moses*, whose endearment was nothing but temporal goods and transient evils, could never make the comers thereunto perfect; * but the ἐπεισαγωγὴ κρείττονος ἐλπίδος, the *superinduction of a better hope* hath endeared a more perfect obedience. When Christ brought *life and immortality to light through the gospel*, and hath promised to us things greater than all our explicit desires, bigger than the thoughts of our heart, then ἐγγίζομεν τῷ Θεῷ, saith the apostle, *then we draw near to God;* and by these we are enabled to do all that God requires, and then he requires all that we can do; more love and more obedience than he did of those who for want of these helps, and these revelations, and these promises, which we have, but they had not, were but imperfect persons, and could do but little more than human services. Christ has taught us more, and given us more, and promised to us more than ever was in the world known or believed before him; and by the strengths and confidence of these, thrusts us forward in a holy and wise economy, and plainly declares that we must serve him by the measures of a new love, do him honour by wise and material glorifications, be united to God by a new nature, and made alive by a new birth, and fulfil all righteousness; to be humble and meek as Christ, to be merciful as our heavenly Father is, to be pure as God is pure, to be partakers of the divine nature, to be wholly renewed in the frame and temper of our mind, to become people of a new heart, a direct new creation, new principles, and a new being, to do better than all the world before us ever did, to love God more perfectly, to despise the world more generously, to contend

* Hebrews vii. 19.

contend for the faith more earnestly; for all this is but a proper and a just consequent of the great promises which our blessed Law-giver came to publish and effect for all the world of believers and disciples.

The matter which is here required is certainly very great; for it is to be more righteous than the scribes and pharisees; more holy than the doctors of the law, than the leaders of the synagogue, than the wise princes of the *Sanhedrim*; more righteous than some that were prophets and high priests, than some that kept the ordinances of the law without blame; men that lay in sackcloth, and fasted much, and prayed more, and made religion and the study of the law the work of their lives: This was very much; but Christians must do more.

Nunc te marmoreum pro tempore fecimus; at tu,
Si fœtura gregem suppleverit, aureus esto.

They did well, and we must do better; their houses were marble, but our roofs must be gilded and fuller of glory. But as the matter is very great, so the necessity of it is the greatest in the world. It must be so, or it will be much worse: unless it be thus, we shall never see the glorious face of God. Here it concerns us to be wise and fearful; for the matter is not a question of an oaken garland, or a circle of bays, and a yellow ribband: it is not a question of money or land, nor of the vainer rewards of popular noises, and the undiscerning suffrages of the people, who are contingent judges of good and evil: but it is the great stake of life eternal. We cannot be Christians, unless we be righteous by the new measures: the righteousness of the kingdom is now the only way to enter into it; for the sentence is fixed, and the judgment is decretory, and the Judge infallible, and the decree irreversible: *For I say unto you*, said Christ, *unless your righteousness exceed the righte-*

ousness of the scribes and pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Here then we have two things to consider. 1. What was the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees. 2. How far that is to be exceeded by the righteousness of Christians.

1. Concerning the first. I will not be so nice in the observation of these words, as to take notice that Christ does not name the *Sadducees*, but the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, though there may be something in it; the *Sadducees* were called *Caraim* from *cara*, to read, for they thought it religion to spend one third part of their day in reading their scriptures, whose fulness they so admired, they would admit of no suppletory traditions: But the *Pharisees* were called *Thanaim*, that is, δευτερώται, they added to the word of God words of their own, as the Church of *Rome* does at this day; they and these fell into an equal fate; while they *taught for doctrines the commandments of men*, they prevaricated the righteousness of God. What the Church of Rome to evil purposes hath done in this particular, may be demonstrated in due time and place: but what false and corrupt glosses, under the specious title of the tradition of their fathers, the *Pharisees* had introduced, our blessed Saviour reproves, and are now to be represented as the ἀντιπαράδειγμα, that your may see that righteousness beyond which all they must go that intend that heaven should be their journey's end.

1. The Pharisees obeyed the commandments in the letter, not in the spirit: They minded what God spake, but not what he intended: they were busy in the outward work of the hand, but incurious of the affections and choice of the heart Ὑμεις πάντα σαρκικῶς νενοήκατε, said *Justin Martyr* to *Tryphon* the Jew, Ye understand all things carnally; that is, they rested ἐν πλάσματι εὐσεβειας, as *Nazianzen* calls it, in the outward work of piety, which not only *Justin Martyr*, but

but St. *Paul* calls *carnality*, not meaning a carnal appetite, but a carnal service *. Their error was plainly this; they never distinguished duties natural from duties relative; that is, whether it were commanded for itself, or in order to something that was better; whether it were a principal grace, or an instrumental action. So God was served in the letter, they did not much inquire into his purpose: and therefore they were curious to wash their hands, but cared not to purify the hearts; they would give alms, but hate him that received it; they would go to the temple, but did not revere the glory of God that dwelt there between the cherubins; they would fast, but not mortify their lusts; they would say good prayers, but not labour for the grace they prayed for. This was just as if a man should run on his master's errand, and do no business when he came there. They might easily have thought that by the soul only a man approaches to God, and draws the body after it; but that no washing or corporal services could unite them and the *schechina* together, no such thing could make them like to God, who is the prince of spirits. They did as the dunces in *Pythagoras'* school, who when their master had said, *Fabis abstineto*, by which he intended *they should not ambitiously seek for magistracy*, they thought themselves good *Pythagoreans* if they *did not eat beans*; and they would be sure to put their right foot first into the shoe, and their left foot into the water, and supposed they had done enough; though if they had not been fools they would have understood their master's meaning to have been, that *they should put more affections to labour and travel, and less to their pleasure and recreation;* and so it was with the *Pharisee:* for as the *Chaldees* taught their morality by mystic words, and the *Egyptians* by hieroglyphics, and the *Greeks* by fables; so did God by rites and ceremonies external, leading them by the hand to the purities of

* Gal. iii. 3. and Gal. vi. 12, 13.; Phil. iii. 34.

of the heart, and by the services of the body to the obedience of the spirit; which because they would not understand, they thought they had done enough in the observation of the letter.

2. In moral duties, where God expressed himself more plainly, they made no commentary of kindness; but regarded the prohibitions so nakedly, and divested of all antecedents, consequents, similitudes, and proportions, that if they stood clear of that hated name which was set down in *Moses* tables, they gave themselves liberty in many instances of the same kindred and alliance: If they abstained from murder, they thought it very well, though they made no scruple of murdering their brothers fame; they would not cut his throat, but they would call him fool, or invent lies in secret, and publish his disgrace openly; they would not dash out his brains, but they would be extremely and unreasonably angry with him; they would not steal their brother's money, but they would oppress him in crafty and cruel bargains. The commandment forbade them to commit adultery, but because fornication was not named, they made no scruple of that; and being commanded to honour their father and their mother, they would give them good words and fair observances; but because it was not named that they should maintain them in their need, they thought they did well enough to pretend *corban*, and let their father starve.

3. The *Scribes* and *Pharisees* placed their righteousness in negatives; they would not commit what was forbidden, but they cared but little for the included positive, and the omissions of good actions did not much trouble them; they would not hurt their brother in a forbidden instance, but neither would they do him good according to the intention of the commandment. It was a great innocence if they did not rob the poor: then they were righteous men; but they thought themselves not much concerned to acquire that god-like excellency, a *philanthropy* and love to all mankind.

Who-

Whosoever blasphemed God was to be put to death; but he that did not glorify God as he ought, they were unconcerned for him, and let him alone: he that spake against *Moses* was to die without mercy; but against the ambitious and the covetous, against the proud man and the unmerciful, they made no provisions.

Virtus est vitium fugere, & sapientia prima
Stultitiâ carnisse.

They accounted themselves good, not for doing good, but for doing no evil; that was the sum of their theology.

4. They had one thing more as bad as all this: they broke *Moses* tables into pieces, and gathering up the fragments took to themselves what part of duty they pleased, and let the rest alone: for it was a proverb amongst the Jews, *Qui operam dat præcepto, liber est à præcepto*; that is, if he chuses one positive commandment for his business, he may be less careful in any of the rest. Indeed they said also, *Qui multiplicat Legem, multiplicat Vitam*; he that multiplies the law increases life; that is, if he did attend to more good things, it was so much the better; but the other was well enough: but as for universal obedience, that was not the measure of their righteousness; for they taught that God would put our good works and bad into the balance, and according to the heavier scale give a portion in the world to come; so that some evil they would allow to themselves and their disciples, always provided it was less than the good they did. They would devour widows houses, and make it up by long prayers: they would love their nation, and hate their prince; offer sacrifice, and curse *Cæsar* in their heart; advance Judaism, and destroy humanity.

Lastly, St. *Austin* summed up the difference between the pharisaical and evangelical righteousness in two words; *Brevis differentia inter Legem & Evangelium,*

lium; timor & amor. They served the God of their fathers in the spirit of fear, and we worship the father of our Lord *Jesus* in the spirit of love, and by the spirit of adoption. And as this slavish principle of theirs was the cause of all their former imperfections, so it finally and chiefly expressed itself in these two particulars. 1. They would do all that they thought they lawfully could do. 2. They would do nothing but what was expressly commanded.

This was the righteousness of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, and their disciples the Jews; which because our blessed Saviour reproves,* not only as imperfect then, but as criminal now, calling us on to a new righteousness, the righteousness of God, to the law of the spirit of life, to the kingdom of God and the proper righteousness thereof, it concerns us in the next place to look after the measures of this, ever remembering that it is infinitely necessary that we should do so; and men do not generally know, or not consider what it is to be a Christian; they understand not what the Christian law forbiddeth or commandeth. But as for this in my text, it is indeed our great measure: but it is not a question of good and better, but of good and evil, life and death, salvation and damnation; for unless our righteousness be weighed by new weights, we shall be found too light, when God comes to weigh the actions of all the world: and unless we be more righteous than they, we *shall in no wise*, that is, upon no other terms in the world, *enter into the kingdom of heaven.*

Now concerning this, we shall do very much amiss, if we take our measures by the manners and practices of the many who call themselves Christians; for there are, as *Nazianzen* expresses it, the οἱ τότε καὶ νῦν φαρισαῖοι, the old and the new *Pharisees.* I wish it were no worse amongst us; and that all Christians were indeed righteous as they were; *est aliquid prodire tenus*; it would not be just nothing. But I am sure that to bid

* *Sed Belzebulis callida commenta Christus destruit.*

bid defiance to the laws of Christ, to laugh at religion, to make a merriment at the debauchery and damnation of our brother, is a state of evil worse than that of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*: and yet even among such men how impatient would they be, and how unreasonable would they think you to be, if you should tell them, that there is no present hopes or possibility that in this state they are in they can be saved!

Omnes videmur nobis esse belluli
Et festivi, Saperdæ cum simus σαπροὶ.

But the world is too full of Christians whose righteousness is very little, and their iniquities very great; and now a-days, a Christian is a man that comes to church on Sundays, and on the week following will do shameful things;

Passim corvos sequitur, testâ lotoque
Securus quo pes ferat, atque ex tempore vivit,

being according to the Jewish proverbial reproof, as so many *Mephibosheths: discipuli sapientium qui incessu pudefaciunt præceptorem suum*; their master teaches them to go uprightly; but they still show their lame leg, and shame their master; as if a man might be a Christian, and yet be the vilest person in the world, doing such things for which the laws of men have provided smart and shame, and the laws of God have threatened the intolerable pains of an insufferable and never ending damnation. Example here cannot be our rule unless men were better, and as long as men live at the rate they do, it will be to little purpose to talk of exceeding the righteousness of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*: but because it must be much better with us all, or it will be very much worse with us at the latter end, I shall leave complaining and go to the rule, and describe the necessary and unavoidable measures of the Righteous-

Righteousness Evangelical, without which we can never be saved.

1. Therefore when it is said our *righteousness must exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees*, let us first take notice by way of precognition, that it must at least be so much: we must keep the letter of the whole moral law; we must do all that lies before us, all that is in our hand: and therefore ἐργιάζεσθαι, which signifies to be religious, the grammarians derive ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς ὀρέγεσθαι, from reaching forth the hand: the outward work must be done; and it is not enough to say *my heart is right, but my hand went aside*. *Prudentius* saith, that St. *Peter* wept so bitterly, because he did not confess Christ openly, whom he loved secretly,

Flevit negator deniqui
Ex ore prolapsum nefas,
Cum mens maneret innocens,
Animusque servârit fidem.

A right heart alone will not do it; or rather the heart is not right when the hand is wrong. *If a man strikes his neighbour, and says, am not I in jest? it is folly and shame to him*, said *Solomon*. For, once for all, let us remember this, that Christianity is the most profitable, the most useful, and the most bountiful institution in the whole world, and the best definition I can give of it is this; it is *the wisdom of God brought down among us to do good to men*; and therefore we must not do less than the *Pharisees*, who did the outward work; at least let us be sure to do all the work that is laid before us in the commandments. And it is strange that this should be needful to be pressed amongst Christians whose religion requires so very much more. But so it is, upon a pretence that we must serve God with the mind, some are such fools as to think that it is enough to have a good meaning. *Iniquum perpol verbum est, bena vult, nisi qui bene facit.* And because we must serve God in the spirit, therefore they will not serve God

God with their bodies; and because they are called upon to have the power and the life of godliness, they abominate all external works as mere forms; and because the true fast is to abstain from sin, therefore they will not abstain from meat and drink, even when they are commanded; which is just as if a *Pharisee* being taught the circumcision of the heart should refuse to circumcise his flesh; and as if a Christian, being instructed in the excellencies of spiritual communion, should wholly neglect the sacramental; that is, because the soul is the life of man, therefore it is fitting to die in a humour, and lay aside the body. This is a taking the subject of the question; for our inquiry is, how we should keep the commandments; how we are to do the work that lies before us, by what principles, with what intention, in what degrees, after what manner, *ut bonum bene fiat*, that the good thing be done well. This therefore must be presupposed; we must take care that even our bodies bear a part in our spiritual services. Our voice and tongue, our hands and our feet, and our very bowels must be servants of God, and do the work of the commandments.

This being ever supposed, our question is, how much more we must do; and the first measure is this, whatsoever can be signified and ministered to by the body, the heart and the spirit of a man must be the principal actor. We must not give alms without a charitable soul, nor suffer martyrdom but in love and in obedience; and when we say our prayers, we do mispend our time unless our mind ascend up to God upon the wings of desire.

Desire is the life of prayer; and if you indeed desire what you pray for, you will also labour for what you desire; and if you find it otherwise with yourselves, your coming to church is but like the *Pharisees* going up to the temple to pray. If your heart be not present, neither will God; and then there is a sound of men and women between a pair of dead walls, from whence because

because neither God nor your souls are present, you must needs go home without a blessing.

But this measure of evangelical righteousness is of principal remark in all the rites and solemnities of religion; and intends to say this, that Christian religion is something that is not seen, it is the hidden man of the heart; ἐστὶ τὶς Θεὸς ἐνδόν, it is God that dwells within; and true Christians are men, who, as the *Chaldee* oracle said, are πολὺν ἐσσάμενοι νοῦν, clothed with a great deal of mind. And therefore those words of the prophet *Hosea*, *Et loquar ad cor ejus, I will speak unto their heart;* is a proverbial expression, signifying to speak spiritual comforts, and in the mystical sense signifies εὐαγγελίζειν, to preach the gospel; where the spirit is the preacher, and the heart is the disciple, and the sermon is of righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. Our service to God must not be in outward works and scenes of religion, it must be something by which we become like to God; the divine prerogative must extend beyond the outward man; nay, even beyond the mortification of corporal vices; the spirit of God must go *in trabis crassitudinem*, and mollify all our secret pride, and ingenerate in us a true humility, and a Christian meekness of spirit, and a divine charity. For in the gospel, when God enjoins any external rite or ceremony, the outward work is always the less principal. For there is a bodily and a carnal part, an outside and a cabinet of religion in Christianity itself. When we are baptized, the purpose of God is that we cleanse ourselves from all pollution of the flesh and spirit, and then we are indeed καθαροὶ ὅλοι, clean all over. And when we communicate, the commandment means that we should be made one spirit with Christ, and should live on him, believing his word, praying for his spirit, supported with his hope, refreshed by his promises, recreated by his comforts, and wholly and in all things conformable to his life; that is the true communion. The sacraments are not

not made for sinners until they do repent; they are the food of our souls, but our souls must be alive unto God, or else they cannot eat. It is good to *confess our sins*, as St. *James* says, and to open our wounds to the ministers of religion, but they absolve none but such as are truly penitent.

Solemn prayers, and the sacraments, and the assemblies of the faithful, and fasting days, and acts of external worship, are the solemnities and rites of religion; but the religion of a Christian is in the heart and spirit. And this is that by which *Clemens Alexandrinus* defined the righteousness of a Christian, Δικαιοσύνη συμφωνία των τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν: all the parts and faculties that make up a man, must make up our religion; but the heart is *domus principalis*, it is the court of the great king; and he is properly served with interior graces and moral virtues, with a humble and a good mind, with a bountiful heart, and a willing soul; and these will command the eye, and give laws to the hand, and make the shoulders stoop; but *anima cujusque est quisque*; a man's soul is the man, and so is his religion; and so you are bound to understand it.

True it is, God works in us his graces by the sacrament; but we must dispose ourselves to a reception of the divine blessing by moral instruments. The soul is συνεργὸς τῷ Θεῷ, it must work together with God, and the body works together with the soul. But no external action can purify the soul, because its nature and operations being spiritual, it can no more be changed by a ceremony or an external solemnity, than an angel can be caressed with sweetmeats, or a man's belly can be filled with music or long orations. The sum is this: No Christian does his duty to God but he that serves him with all his heart: and although it becomes us to fulfil all righteousness, even the external also; yet that which makes us gracious in his eyes is not the external, it is the love of the heart and the real change of

of the mind and obedience of the spirit; that is the first great measure of the Righteousness Evangelical.

2. The Righteousness Evangelical must exceed that of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* by extension of our obedience to things of the same signification; *Leges non ex verbis, sed ex mente intelligendas*,* says the law. There must be a commentary of kindness in the understanding the laws of Christ. We must understand all God's meaning; we must secure his service, we must be far removed from the dangers of his displeasure. And therefore our righteousness must be the purification and the perfection of the spirit. So that it will be nothing for us not to commit adultery, unless our eyes and hands be chaste, and the desires be clean. A Christian must not look upon a woman to lust after her. He must hate sin in all dimensions, and in all distances, and in every angle of its reception. A Christian must not sin, and he must not be willing to sin if he durst. He must not be lustful, and therefore he must not feed high, nor drink deep, for these make provisions for lust: and amongst Christians, great eatings and drinkings are acts of uncleanness as well as of intemperance, and whatever ministers to sin, and is the way of it, it partakes of its nature and its curse.

For it is remarkable that in good and evil the case is greatly different. Mortification *(e. g.)* is a duty of Christianity; but there is no law concerning the instruments of it. We are not commanded to roll ourselves on thorns, as St. *Benedict* did; or to burn our flesh, like St. *Martinian*; or to tumble in snows with St. *Francis*; or in pools of water with St. *Bernard*. A man may chew *aloes*, or lie upon the ground, or wear sackloth, if he have a mind to it, and if he finds it good in his circumstances and to his purposes of mortification; but it may be he may do it alone by the instrumentalities of fear and love; and so the thing be done

* *De Legibus l. scire.*

done, no special instrument is commanded. But although the instruments of virtue are free, yet the instruments and ministeries of vice are not. Not only the sin is forbidden, but all the ways that lead to it. The instruments of virtue are of themselves indifferent, that is, not naturally, but good only for their relation sake, and in order to their end. But the instruments of vice are of themselves vicious; they are part of the sin, they have a share in the fantastic pleasure, and they begin to estrange a man's heart from God, and are directly in the prohibition. For we are commanded to fly from temptation, to pray against it, *to abstain from all appearances of evil*, to make a covenant with our eyes, to pluck them out if there be need. And if Christians do not understand the commandments to this extension of signification, they will be innocent only by the measures of human laws, but not by the righteousness of God.

3. Of the same consideration it is also that we understand Christ's commandments to extend to our duty, not only to what is named, and what is not named of the same nature and design; but that we abstain from all such things as are like to sins. Of this nature there are many. All violences of passion, irregularities in gaming, prodigality of our time, undecency of action, doing things unworthy our birth or profession, aptness to go to law; *ambitus*, or a fierce prosecution even of honourable employments; misconstruction of the words and actions of our brother; easiness to believe evil of others, willingness to report the evil which we hear; curiosity of diet, peevishness toward servants, indiscreet and importune standing for place, and all excess in ornaments; for even this little instance is directly prohibited by the Christian and royal law of charity. For ἀγάπη οὐ περπερεύεται, saith St. *Paul*; the word is a word hard to be understood; we render it well enough; *charity vaunteth not itself;* and upon this St. *Basil* says, that an ecclesiastic person (and so every Christian

Christian in his proportion) ought not to go in splendid and vain ornaments; Πὰν γαρ ὁ μὴ διὰ χρειαν, ἀλλα διὰ καλλωπισμὸν παραλαμβάνεται, περπερειας ἔχει κατηγορίαν: Every thing that is not wisely useful or proportioned to the state of the Christian, but ministers only to vanity, is a part of this περπερεύεσθαι, it is a vaunting, which the charity and the grace of the Christian does not well endure. These things are like to sins, they are of a suspicious nature, and not easily to be reconciled to the Righteousness Evangelical. It is no wonder if Christianity be nice and curious; it is the cleanness and the purification of the soul, and Christ intends to present his church to God ἄσπιλον και ἀμώμητον, *without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing.* N. B. *or any such thing.* If there be any irregularity that is less than a wrinkle, the Evangelical Righteousness does not allow it. These are such things which if men will stand to defend, possibly a modest reprover be more ashamed than an impudent offender If I see a person apt to quarrel, to take every thing in an ill sense, to resent an error deeply, to reprove it bitterly, to remember it tenaciously, to repeat it frequently, to upbraid it unhandsomely, I think I have great reason to say, that this person does not do what becomes the sweetness of a Christian spirit. If it be replied, It is no where forbidden to chide an offending person, and that it cannot be a fault to understand when a thing is said or done amiss; I cannot return an answer, but by saying, that suppose nothing of it were a sin, yet that every thing of it is so like a sin, that it is the worse for it; and that it were better not to do so; at least I think so, and so ought you too, if you be curious of your eternal interest: a little more tenderness here would do well. I cannot say that this dress, or this garment, or this standing for place is the direct sin of pride; but I am sure it looks like it in some persons; at least the letting it alone is much better, and is very like humility. And certain

certain it is, that he is dull of hearing who understands not the voice of God, unless it be clamorous in an express and a loud commandment, proclaimed with trumpets and clarions upon mount *Sinai*; but a willing and an obedient ear understands the still voice of Christ, and is ready to obey his meaning at half a word; and that is the Righteousness Evangelical. It not only abstains from sins named, and sins implied, but from the beginnings and instruments of sin; and from whatsoever is like it. The Jews were so great haters of swine upon pretensions of the *Mosiac* rites, that they would not so much as name a swine, but called it אחר דבר *Daber Acher*, another thing. And thus the Romans in their augaries used *alterum* for *non bonum*. The simile of this St. *Paul* translates to a Christian duty. *Let not fornication be so much as named amongst you*, ὡς πρέπον ἐν τοῖς ἁγιοις, *as is comely amongst Christians*, that is, come not near a foul thing; speak not of it, let it be wholly banished from all your conversation; for this niceness and curiosity of duty becometh saints, and is an instance of the Righteousness Evangelical.

I have now done with the first sort of measures of the Christian righteousness; these which are the matter of our negative duty; these are the measures of our caution and our first innocence. But there are greater things behind, which although I must crowd up into a narrow room, yet I must not wholly omit them therefore.

4. The fourth thing I shall note to you is, that whereas the righteousness of the *Pharisees* was but a fragment of the broken tables of *Moses*; the pursuance of some one grace, *lacinia sanctitatis*, a piece of the robe of righteousness; the Righteousness Evangelical must be like Christ's seamless coat, all of a piece from the top to the bottom; it must invest the whole soul: *Misma, Dumah, Massah*, said the proverb of the Rabbins, it is this, and it is the other, and it must be all: it

must be an universal righteousness; not a little knot of holy actions scattered in our lives, and drawn into a sum at the day of judgment, but it must be a state of holiness. It was said of the *Paphlagonian* pigeons διπλῆν ὁρᾶσθαι τὴν καρδίαν, every one of them had two hearts; but that in our mystical Theology signifies a wicked man. So said *Solomon*,* *the perverse or wicked man*, derachaim, *he is a man of two ways*; ἀνὴρ δίψυχος, so St. *James* expresses an unbeliever; a man that will and will not; something he does for God, and something for the world; he hath two minds, and in a good fit, in his well days he is full of repentance, and overflows in piety; but the paroxysm will return in the day of temptation, and then he is gone infallibly. But know this, that in the Righteousness Evangelical, one duty cannot be exchanged for another, and three virtues will not make amends for one remaining vice. He that oppresses the poor, cannot make amends by giving good counsel; and if a Priest be simonaical, he cannot be esteemed righteous before God by preaching well, and taking care of his charge. To be zealous for God and for religion is good, but that will not legitimate cruelty to our brother. It is not enough for a man to be a good citizen, unless he be also a good man; but some men build their houses with half a dozen cross sticks, and turf is the foundation, and straw is the covering, and they think they dwell securely; their religion is made up of two or three virtues, and they think to commute with God, some good for some bad, πολλὰ μεμίγμενα πολλὰ δὲ αἰσχρὰ, as if one deadly wound were not enough to destroy the most healthful constitution in the world. Deceive not yourselves. It is all one on which hand we fall:

——*Unum operantur*
Et calor & frigus, sic hoc, sic illud adurit;
Sic tenebræ visum, sic sol contrarius aufert.

The

* Prov. xxviii. 14.

The moon may burn us by night as well as the sun by day: and a man may be made blind by the light of the sun as well as by the darkness of the evening, and any one great mischief is enough to destroy one man. Some men are very meek and gentle naturally, and that they serve God withal; they pursue the virtue of their nature: that is, they tie a stone at the bottom of the well, and that's more than needs; the stone will stay there without that trouble; and this good inclination will of itself easily proceed to issue; and therefore our care and caution should be more carefully employed in mortification of our natures, and acquist of such virtues to which we are more refractory, and then cherish the other too, even as much as we please: but at the same time we are busy in this, it may be we are secret adulterers, and that will spoil our confidences in the goodness of the other instance: others are greatly bountiful to the poor, and love all mankind, and hurt nobody but themselves; but it is a thousand pities to see such loving good-natured persons to perish infinitely by one crime, and to see such excellent good things thrown away to please an uncontrolled and a stubborn lust; but so do some escape out of a pit, and are taken in a trap at their going forth; and stepping aside to avoid the hoar frost, fall into a valley full of snow. The Righteousness Evangelical is another kind of thing: it is a holy conversation, a God-like life, an universal obedience, a keeping nothing back from God, a sanctification of the whole man, and keeps not the body only, but the soul and the spirit unblameable to the coming of the Lord Jesus.

5. And lastly; the Pharisaical Righteousness was the product of fear, and therefore what they must needs do, that they would do; but no more: but the Righteousness Evangelical is produced by love, it is managed by choice, and cherished by delight and fair experiences. Christians are a willing people; *homines bonæ voluntatis*, men of good will; *arbores Domini*. So

So they are mystically represented in scripture; *the trees of the Lord are full of sap:* among the Hebrews the trees of the Lord did signify such trees as grew of themselves; and all that are of God's planting, are such as have a vital principle within, and grow without constraint. Πείθονται τοῖς ὡρισμένοις νόμοις, καὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις νικῶσι τὲς νόμες, one said it of Christians; they obey the laws, and by the goodness of their lives exceed the laws; and certain it is, no man hath the Righteousness Evangelical, if he resolves always to take all his liberty in every thing that is merely lawful; or if he purpose to do no more than he must needs do, that is, no more than he is just commanded. For the reasons are plain.

1. The Christian that resolves to do every thing that is lawful, will many times run into danger and inconvenience; because the utmost extremity of lawful is so near to that which is unlawful, that he will pass into unlawful undiscernably. Virtues and vices have not in all their instances a great land-mark set between them, like warlike nations separate by prodigious walls, vast seas, and portentous hills; but they are oftentimes like the bounds of a parish; men are fain to cut a cross upon the turf, and make little marks and annual perambulations for memorials: so it is in lawful and unlawful, by a little mistake a man may be greatly ruined. He that drinks till his tongue is full as a spunge, and his speech a little stammering and tripping, hasty and disorderly, though he be not gone so far as drunkenness, yet he is beyond the severity of a Christian; and when he is just past into unlawful, if he disputes too curiously he will certainly deceive himself for want of a wiser curiosity.

But 2. He that will do all that he thinks he may lawfully, had need have an infallible guide always by him, who should without error be able to answer all cases of conscience, which will happen every day in a life so careless and insecure; for if he should be mistaken,

mistaken, his error is his crime, and not his excuse. A man in this case had need be very sure of his proposition; which, because he cannot be in charity to himself, he will quickly find that he is bound to abstain from all things that are uncertainly good, and from all disputable evils, from things which although they may be in themselves lawful, yet accidentally, and that from a thousand causes may become unlawful. *Pavidus quippe & formidolosus est Christianus*, saith *Salvian*,—*at que in tantum peccare metuens, ut interdum & non timenda formidit.* A Christian is afraid of every little thing; and he sometimes greatly fears that he hath sinned, even then when he hath no other reason to be afraid, but because he would not do so for all the world.

3. He that resolves to use all his liberty cannot be innocent, so long as there are in the world so many bold temptations, and presumptuous actions, so many scandals, and so much ignorance in the things of God, so many things that are suspicious, and so many things that are of evil report; so many ill customs and disguises in the world, with which if we resolve to comply in all that is supposed lawful, a man may be in the regions of death, before he perceive his head to ache; and instead of a staff in his hand, may have a splinter in his elbow.

4. Besides all this; he that thus stands on his terms with God, and so carefully husbands his duty, and thinks to make so good a market of obedience, that he will quit nothing which he thinks he may lawfully keep, shall never be exemplary in his life, and shall never grow in grace, and therefore shall never enter into glory. He therefore that will be righteous by the measures evangelical, must consider not only what is lawful, but what is expedient; not only what is barely safe, but what is worthy; that which may secure, and that which may do advantage to that concern that is the greatest in the world.

And

And 2. The case is very like with them that resolve to do no more good than is commanded them. For 1. It is infinitely unprofitable as to our eternal interest, because no man does all that is commanded at all times; and therefore he that will not sometimes do more, besides that he hath no love, no zeal of duty, no holy fires in his soul; besides this, I say, he can never make any amends towards the reparation of his conscience. *Let him that stole steal no more;* that is well; but that is not well enough, for he must, if he can, make restitution of what he stole, or he shall never be pardoned; and so it is in all our intercourse with God. To do what is commanded is the duty of the present; we are tied to this in every present, in every period of our lives; but therefore if we never do any more than just the present duty, who shall supply the deficiencies, and fill up the gaps, and redeem what is past; this is a material consideration in the Righteousness Evangelical.

But then 2. We must know that in keeping of God's commandments every degree of internal duty is under the commandments; and therefore whatever we do, we must do it as well as we can. Now he that does his duty with the biggest affection he can, will also do all that he can; and he can never know that he hath done what is commanded, unless he does all that is in his power. For God hath put no limit but love and possibility, and therefore whoever says, hither will I go and no farther, this I will do and no more, thus much will I serve God, but that shall be all; he hath the affections of a slave, and the religion of a pharisee, the craft of a merchant, and the falseness of a broker; but he hath not the proper measures of the Righteousness Evangelical. But so it happens in the mud and slime of the river *Borhorus*, when the eye of the sun hath long dwelt upon it, and produces frogs and mice which begin to move a little under a thin cover of its own parental matter, and

and if they can get loose to live half a life, that is all; but the hinder parts, which are not formed before the setting of the sun, stick fast in their beds of mud, and the little moiety of a creature dies before it could be well said to live: so it is with those Christians, who will do all that they think lawful, and will do no more than what they suppose necessary; they do but peep into the light of the Sun of Righteousness; they have the beginnings of life; but their hinder parts, their passions and affections, and the desires of the lower man are still unformed; and he that dwells in this state is just so much of a Christian as a spunge is of a plant, and a mushroom of a shrub: they may be as sensible as an oyster, and discourse at the rate of a child, but are greatly short of the Righteousness Evangelical.

I have now done with those parts of the Christian righteousness, which were not only an ὑπεροχὴ or excess, but an ἀντιστοιχίωσις to the Pharisaical: but because I ought not to conceal any thing from you that must integrate our duty, and secure our title to the kingdom of heaven: there is this to be added, that this precept of our blessed Saviour is to be extended to the direct degrees of our duty. We must do more duties, and we must do them better. And in this, although we can have no positive measures, because they are potentially infinite, yet therefore we ought to take the best, because we are sure the greatest is not too big; and we are not sure that God will accept a worse, when we can do a better. Now although this is to be understood of the internal affection only; because that must never be abated, but God is at all times to be loved and served with all our heart, yet concerning the degrees of external duty, as prayers, and alms, and the like, we are certainly tied to a greater excellency in the degree, than was that of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*. I am obliged to speak one word for the determination of this inquiry, *viz.* to how

how much more of external duty Christians are obliged, than was in the righteousness of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*. In order to this, briefly thus.

I remember that *Salvian* speaking of old men summing up their repentances, and making amends for the sins of their whole life, exhorts them to alms and works of piety. But inquiring how much they should do towards the redeeming of their souls, answers with a little sarcasm, but plainly enough to give a wise man an answer. "A man, (says he,) is not bound to "give away all his goods, unless peradventure he "owes all to God; but in that case I cannot tell what "to say; for then the case is altered A man is not "bound to part with all his estate; that is, unless "his sins be greater than his estate; but if they be, "then he may consider of it again, and consider bet-"ter. And he need not part with it all, unless par-"don be more precious to him than his money, and "unless heaven be worth it all, and unless he knows "justly how much less will do it. If he does let him "try his skill, and pay just so much and no more "than he owes to God: but if he does not know, "let him be sure to do enough." His meaning is this: Not that a man is bound to give all he hath, and leave his children beggars; he is bound from that by another obligation. But as when we are tied to pray continually, the meaning is, we should consecrate all our time by taking good portions out of all our time for that duty; the devotest person being like the waters of *Siloam*,* a perpetual spring, but not a perpetual current; that is always in readiness, but actually thrusting forth his waters at certain periods every day. So out of all our estate we must take for religion and repentance such portions as the whole estate can allow; so much as will consecrate the rest; so much as is fit to bring when we pray for a great pardon, and deprecate a mighty anger, and turn

* S. Hier. in Comment. Isai. viii. Isidor. l. 13. Orig. cap. 13.

turn aside an intolerable fear, and will purchase an excellent peace, and will reconcile a sinner. Now in this case a Christian is to take his measures according to the rate of his contrition and his love, his religion and his fear, his danger and his expectation, and let him measure his amends wisely; his sorrow pouring in, and his fear thrusting it down, and it were very well, if his love also would make it run over. For deceive not yourselves, there is no other measure but this; so much good as a man does, or so much as he would do, if he could, so much of religion and so much of repentance he hath, and no more: and a man cannot ordinarily know that he is in a saveable condition; but by the testimony which a divine philanthropy and a good mind always gives, which is to omit no opportunity of doing good in our several proportions and possibilities.

There was an alms which the Scribes and Pharisees were obliged by the law to give, the tenth of every third years increase; this they always paid, and this sort of alms is called δικαιοσύνη, righteousness or justice, but the alms which Christians ought to give is χάρις, and it is ἀγάπη, it is grace, and it is love, and it is abundance, and so the old Rabbins told: *Justitia propriè dicitur in iis quæ jure facimus; benignitas in iis quæ præter jus.* It is more than righteousness, it is bounty and benignity, for that is the Christian measure. And so it is in the other parts and instances of the Righteousness Evangelical. And therefore it is remarkable that the saints in the Old Testament were called ἐυθεις, right men, and the book of *Genesis*, as we find it twice attested by *St. Hierome*,* was called by the ancient Hellenists, Βίβλος ἐυθέων, the book of right or just men, the book of *Abraham, Isaac,* and *Jacob.* But the word Christians is χρηστοὶ, good men, harmless, and profitable. Men that are good, and men that do good. In pursuance of which it is further observed,

* Commen. in 12 Isai. & l. 6. in Ezek. c. 18.

observed by learned men, that the word ἀρετή or virtue, is not in the four Gospels; for the actions of Christ's disciples should not be in *gradu virtutis* only, virtuous and laudable, such as these *Aristotle* presses in his *Magna Moralia;* they must pass on to a further excellency than so: the same which he calls πράξεις τῶν ἡρώων; they must be sometimes, and as often as we can in *gradu heroico*, or, that I may use the Christian style, they must be actions of perfection. Righteousness was the συνώνυμον for alms in the Old Testament, and τελειότης, or perfection was the word for alms in the New; as appears by comparing the fifth of St. *Matthew*, and the sixth of St. *Luke* together; and that is the full state of this difference in the inquiries of the Righteousness Pharisaical and Evangelical.

I have many more things to say, but ye cannot hear them now, because the time is past. One thing indeed were fit to be spoken of, if I had any time left; but I can only name it, and desire your consideration to make it up. This great rule that Christ gives us, does also, and that principally too, concern churches and commonwealths, as well as every single Christian. Christian Parliaments must exceed the religion and government of the *Sanhedrim*. Your laws must be more holy, the condition of the subjects be made more tolerable, the laws of Christ must be strictly enforced, you must not suffer your great Maker to be dishonoured, nor his religion dismembered by sects, or disgraced by impiety; you must give no impunity to vicious persons, and you must take care that no great example be greatly corrupted; you must make better provisions for your poor than they did, and take more care even of the external advantages of Christ's religion and his Ministers, than they did of the priests and Levites; that is, in all things you must be more zealous to promote the kingdom of Christ, than they were for the ministeries of *Moses*.

The

The sum of all this is; the Righteousness Evangelical is the same with that which the Ancients called ἀποστολικὴν διάγειν πολίτειαν, to live an Apostolical life, that was the measure of Christians, the οἱ ἐναρέτας καὶ θεαρέστως βιῶντες, men that are desired to please God; that is, as *Apostolius* most admirably describes it,* men who are curious of their very eyes, temperate in their tongue, of a mortified body, and a humble spirit, pure in their intentions, masters of their passions. Men who when they are injured return honourable words; when they are lessened in their estates, increase in their charity; when they are abused, they yet are courteous and give entreaties; when they are hated, they pay love; men that are dull in contentions, and quick in loving-kindnesses, swift as the feet of *Asahel*, and ready as the chariots of *Amminadib*. True Christians are such as are crucified with Christ, and dead unto all sin; and finally place their whole love on God, and for his sake upon all mankind: this is the description of a Christian, and the true state of the Righteousness Evangelical; so that it was well said of *Athenagoras*,† οὐδεὶς χρισιανὸς πονηρὸς εἰ μὴ ὑποκρίνεται τὸν λόγον, no Christian is a wicked man, unless his life be a continual lie, unless he be false to God and his religion. For the righteousness of the gospel is in short, nothing else but a transcript of the life of Christ; *De matthana nahaliel; de nahaliel Bamoth*, said R *Joshua;* Christ is the image of God, and every Christian is the image of Christ, whose example is imitable, but it is the best, and his laws are the most perfect, but the most easy, and the promises by which he invites our greater services are most excellent, but most true; and the rewards shall be hereafter, but they

* Ἐγὶ δὲ αὐτὴ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀκριβεια, γλώσσης ἐγκρατεια, σώματ☉ δεδαγωγία, φρόνημα ταπεινὸν, ἐννοίας καθαρότης, ὀργῆς ἀφανισμός· αγγαρευόμεν☉ προτίθει, ἀποστερέμεν☉ μὴ δικάζε, μισέμεν☉ ἀγάπα, βιαζόμεν☉ ανέχε, βλασφημέμεν☉ παρακάλει, νεκρώθητι τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, συζάνεώθητι τῷ Χριστῷ, ὅλην την ἀγάπην μετάθες ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον.

† Legat. pro Christianis.

they shall abide for ever, and (that I may take notice of the last words of my text) the threatenings to them that fall short of this righteousness are most terrible, but most certainly shall come to pass; *they shall never enter into the kingdom of heaven;* that is, their portion shall be shame and an eternal prison, ἀσφαλῶδες ῥεῦμα, a flood of brimstone, and a cohabitation with devils to eternal ages: and if this consideration will not prevail, there is no place left for persuasion, and there is no use of reason; and the greatest hopes and the greatest fears can be no argument or sanction of laws; and the greatest good in the world is not considerable, and the greatest evil is not formidable; but if they be, there is no more to be said; if you would have your portion with Christ, you must be righteous by his measures; and these are they that I have told you.

SERMON

SERMON II.

THE

CHRISTIAN'S CONQUEST

OVER

THE BODY OF SIN.

ROM. vii. 19.

For the good that I would, I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do.

WHAT the Eunuch said to *Philip*, when he read the book of the prophet *Isaiah; of whom speaketh the prophet this, of himself, or some other man?* The same question I am to ask concerning the words of my text: Does St. *Paul* mean this of himself, or of some other? It is hoped that he speaks it of himself; and means that though his understanding is convinced that he ought to serve God; and that he hath some unperfect desires to do so; yet the law of God without is opposed by a law of sin within. We have a corrupted nature, and a body of infirmity, and our reason dwells in the dark, and we must go out of the world before we leave our sin. For besides that some sins are esteemed brave and honourable, and he is a baffled person that dares not kill his brother like a gentleman; our very tables are made a snare, and our civilities are direct

direct treasons to the soul. You cannot entertain your friend but excess is the measure; and that you may be very kind to your guest, you step aside and lay away the Christian; your love cannot be expressed unless you do him an ill-turn, and civilly invite him to a fever. Justice is too often taught to bow to great interests, and men cannot live without flattery; and there are some trades that minister to sin, so that without a sin we cannot maintain our families; and if you mean to live, you must do as others do. Now so long as men see they are like to be undone by innocence, and that they can no way live but by compliance with the evil customs of the world, men conclude practically, because they must live they must sin; they must live handsomely, and therefore must do some things unhandsomely, and so upon the whole matter sin is unavoidable. Fain they would, but cannot tell how to help it. But since it is no better, it is well it is no worse. For it is St. *Paul's* case, no worse man; he would and he would not, he did and he did not; he was willing, but he was not able; and therefore the case is clear, that if a man strives against sin, and falls unwillingly, it shall not be imputed to him; he may be a regenerate man for all that. A man must indeed wrangle against sin when it comes, and like a peevish lover resist and consent at the same time, and then all is well; for this not only consists with, but is a sign of the state of regeneration.

If this be true, God will be very ill served. If it be not true most men will have but small hopes of being saved, because this is the condition of most men. What then is to be done? Truth can do us no hurt, and therefore be willing to let this matter pass under examination: for if it troubles us now, it will bring comfort hereafter. And therefore before I enter into the main enquiry, I shall, by describing the state of the man of whom St. *Paul* speaks here, tell you plainly, who it is that is in this state of sad things, and then do

do ye make your resolutions according as you shall find it necessary for the saving of your souls; which I am sure ought to be the end of all preaching.

1. The man St. *Paul* speaks of is one that is *dead*, v. 9. one that was *deceived* and *slain*, v. 11. one in whom *sin was exceeding sinful*, v. 13. that is, highly imputed, greatly malicious, infinitely destructive: he is one who is *carnal and sold under sin*, v. 14. he is one that sins against his *conscience* and his *reason*, v. 16. he is one in whom *sin dwells*, but the spirit of God does not dwell; *for no good thing dwells in him*, v. 18. he is one who is *brought into captivity to the law of sin*, he is a servant of uncleanness, with his flesh and members serving the law of sin, v. 25. Now if this be a state of regeneration, I wonder what is, or can be a state of reprobation! for though this be the state of nature, yet it cannot be the state of one redeemed by the spirit of Christ; and therefore flatter not yourselves any more, that it is enough for you to have good desires, and bad performances: never think that any sin can reign in you, and yet you be servants of God: that sin can dwell in you, and at the same time the spirit of God can dwell in you too; or that life and death can abide together. The sum of affairs is this. *If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye through the spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live**, but not else upon any terms whatsoever.

My text is one of the hard places of St. *Paul;* which, as St. *Paul* says, *the ignorant and the unstable wrest to their own damnation.* But because in this case the danger is so imminent, and the deception would be so intolerable, St. *Paul* immediately after this chapter (in which under his own person, as was usual with him to do, he describes the state of a natural man advanced no further than *Moses* law, and not redeemed by the blood of Christ, or enlightened by the spirit of God

* Rom. iii. 13.

God, and taught by the wiser lessons and sermons of the gospel, immediately spends the next chapter in opposing the evangelical state to the legal, the spiritual to the carnal, the Christian to the natural; and tells us plainly, he that is redeemed by the blood of Christ, is redeemed from the power of sin: he that is Christ's freed man, is not a slave of sin, not captive to the devil at his will: he that is in *the flesh cannot please God*, but every servant of Christ is freed from sin, and is a servant of righteousness, and redeemed from all his vain conversation: for this is the end of Christ's coming, and cannot be in vain unless we make it so. He came to bless us by turning every one of us from our iniquities. Now concerning this, besides the evidence of the thing itself, that St. *Paul* does not speak these words of himself, but by a μεταςχηματισμὸς, under his own borrowed person he describes the state of a carnal, unredeemed, unregenerate person, is expressly affirmed by St. *Irenæus* and *Origen*, by *Tertullian* and St. *Basil*, by *Theodoret* and St. *Chrysostom*, by St. *Jerome*, and sometimes by St. *Austin*, by St. *Ambrose* and St. *Cyril*, by *Macarius* and *Theophylact*; and is indeed that true sense and meaning of these words of St. *Paul*, which words none can abuse or misunderstand, but to the great prejudice of a holy life, and the patronage of all iniquity.

But for the stating of this great case of conscience, I shall first, in short, describe to you what are the proper causes which place men, and keep them in this state of a necessity of sinning; and 2. I shall prove the absolute necessity of coming out of this condition, and quitting all our sin. 3. In what degree this is to be effected. 4. By what instruments this is to be done; and all these being practical, will of themselves be sufficient use to the doctrines, and need no other applicatory but a plain exhortation.

1. What are the causes of this evil, by which we are first placed, and so long kept in a necessity of sinning

so

so that we cannot do what good we would, nor avoid the evil that we hate?

The first is the evil state of our nature. And indeed he that considers the daily experiment of his own weak nature, the ignorance and inconstancy of his soul, being like a sick man's legs, or the knees of infants, reeling and unstable by disease or by infirmity, and the perpetual leaven and germinations, the thrustings forth, and swelling of his senses, running out like new wine into vapours and intoxicating activities, will readily confess, that though even in nature there may be many good inclinations to many instances of the divine commandments; yet it can go no further than this *velleity*, this desiring to do good, but is not able. And it is *Lactantius* brings in the Pagan or natural man complaining, *Volo equidem non peccare, sed vincor, indutus enim sum carne fragili & imbecillâ.* This is very true, and I add only this caution: There is not in the corruption of our nature so much as will save us harmless, or make us excusable if we sin against God. Natural corruption can make us criminal, but not innocent; for though by him that willingly abides in the state of mere nature, sin cannot be avoided, yet no man is in that state longer than he loves to be so; for the grace of God came to rescue us from this evil portion, and is always present to give us a new nature, and create us over again: and therefore though sin is made necessary to the natural man by his impotency and fond loves, that is, by his unregenerate nature; yet in the whole constitution of affairs, God hath more than made it up by his grace, if we will make use of it. *In pueris elucet spes plurimorum, quæ ubi emoritur ætate, manifestum est non deficisse naturam, sed curam,* said *Quintilian.* We cannot tell what we are, or what we think in our infancy; and when we can know our thoughts we can easily observe that we have learned evil things by evil examples, and the corrupt manners of an evil conversa-

tion: *& ubi par socordiam vires, tempus, ingenium defluxêre, naturæ infirmitas accusatur;* that indeed is too true; we grow lazy, and wanton, and we lose our time, and abuse our parts, and do ugly things, and lay the fault wholly upon our natural infirmities; but we must remember that by this time it is a state of nature, a state of flesh and blood, which cannot enter into heaven. The natural man and the natural child are not the same thing in true divinity. The natural child indeed can do no good; but the natural man cannot chuse but do evil; but it is because he will do so; he is not born in the second birth, and renewed in the baptism of the spirit.

2. We have brought ourselves into an accidental necessity of sinning by the evil principles which are sucked in by great parts of mankind. We are taught ways of going to heaven without forsaking our sins; of repentance without restitution; of being in charity without hearty forgiveness, and without love; of believing our sins to be pardoned before they are mortified; of trusting in Christ's death without conformity to his life; of being in God's favour upon the only account of being of such an opinion; and that when we are once in, we can never be out. We are taught to believe that the events of things do not depend upon our crucifying our evil and corrupt affections, but upon eternal and unalterable counsels; that the promises are not the rewards of obedience, but graces pertaining only to a few predestinates, and yet men are saints for all that; and that the laws of God are of the race of the giants, not to be observed by any grace or by any industry: this is the catechism of the ignorant and the profane: but without all peradventure the contrary propositions are the way to make the world better: but certainly they that believe these things do not believe it necessary that we should eschew all evil: and no wonder then if when men, upon these accounts slacken their industry and their care, they find sin still prevailing, still dwelling within them, and

and still unconquerable by so slight and disheartened labours. For Ἰδιώτης πᾶς και ἀπαίδευτος τρόπον τίνα παῖς ἐστί: every fool and every ignorant person is a child still; and it is no wonder that he who talks foolishly should do childishly and weakly.

3. To our weak and corrupted nature, and our foolish discourses, men do daily superinduce evil habits and customs of sinning. *Consuetudo mala tanquam hamus infixus animæ*, said the Father; an evil custom is a hook in the soul, and draws it whither the devil pleases. When it comes to the καρδία γεγυμνασμένη πλεονεξίας as St. *Peter*'s word is, *a heart exercised with covetous practices*, than it is also ἀσθενὴς, it is weak and unable to do the good it fain would, or to avoid the evil which in a good fit it pretends to hate. This is so known I shall not insist upon it; but add this only, that whenever a habit is contracted, it is all one what the instance be; it is as easy as delicious, as unalterable in virtue as in vice; for if what helps nature brings to a vicious habit, the same and much more the spirit of God, by his power and by his comforts can do in a virtuous; and then we are well again. You see by this who are, and why they are in this evil condition. The evil natures, and the evil principles, and the evil manners of the world, these are the causes of our imperfect willings, and weaker actings in the things of God; and as long as men stay here, sin will be unavoidable. For even meat itself is loathsome to a sick stomach; and it is impossible for him that is heart sick to eat the most wholesome diet; and yet he that shall say eating is impossible, will be best confuted by seeing all the healthful men in the world eat heartily every day.

2. But what then? Cannot sin be avoided? Cannot a Christian mortify the deeds of the body? Cannot Christ redeem us, and cleanse us from all our sins? Cannot the works of the devil be destroyed? That is the next particular to be inquired of; Whether or no it be not necessary, and therefore very possible for a

servant of God to pass from this evil state things, and not only hate evil, but avoid it also?

He that saith he hath not sinned is a liar; but what then? Because a man hath sinned, it does not follow he must do so always. *Hast thou sinned? do so no more* (said the wise *Bensirach*); and so said Christ to the poor paralytic, *Go and sin no more.* They were excellent words spoken by a holy prophet, [*Let not the sinner say he hath not sinned; for God shall burn coals of fire upon his head, that saith before the Lord God and his glory, I have not sinned*] Well! that case is confessed; *All men have sinned, and come short of the glory of God.* But is there no remedy for this? Must it always be so? and must sin for ever have the upper hand, and for ever baffle our resolutions, and all our fierce and earnest promises of amendment? God forbid. There was a time then to come, and, blessed be God, it hath been long come, [*Yet a little while* (saith the prophet) *and iniquity shall be taken out of the earth, and righteousness shall reign among you.*] For, that is in the day of Christ's kingdom, the manifestation of the gospel. When Christ reigns in our hearts by his spirit, *Dagon* and the ark cannot stand together; we cannot serve Christ and *Belial.* And as in the state of nature no good thing dwells within us; so when Christ rules in us, no evil thing can abide; *For every plant that my heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted up* and cast away into the fires of consumption or purification. But how shall this come to pass, since we all find ourselves so infinitely weak and foolish? I shall tell you. *It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven,* saith Christ. It is impossible to nature; it is impossible to them that are given to vanity; it is impossible for them that delight in the evil snare: but Christ adds, *With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible.* What we cannot do for ourselves, God can do for us, and with us. What nature cannot

cannot do, the grace of God can. So that the thing may be done, not indeed by ourselves, but *gratia Dei mecum*, saith St. *Paul*; God and man together can do it. But if it can be done any way that God hath put into our powers, the consequent is this; no man's good will shall be taken in exchange for the real and actual mortification of his sins. He that sins, and would fain not sin, but sin is present with him whether he will or no, let him take heed; for the same is *the law of sin*, and *the law of death* (saith the apostle); and that man's heart is not right with God. For it is impossible men should pray for deliverance, and not be heard; that they should labour, and not be prosperous, unless they pray amiss, and labour falsely. Let no man therefore please himself with talking of great things, with perpetual conversation in pious discourses, or with ineffective desires of serving God: he that does not practise as well as he talks, and do what he desires, and what he ought to do, confesses himself to sin greatly against his conscience; and it is a prodigious folly to think that he is a good man, because though he does sin, yet it was against his mind to do so. A man's conscience can never condemn him, if that be his excuse to say that his conscience checked him; add that will be but a sad apology at the day of judgment. Some men talk like angels, and pray with great fervor, and meditate with deep recesses, and speak to God with loving affections, and words of union, and adhere to him in silent devotion, and when they go abroad are as passionate as ever, peevish as a frighted fly, vexing themselves with their own reflections: they are cruel in their bargains, unmerciful to their tenants, and proud as a barbarian prince: they are, for all their fine words, impatient of reproof, scornful to their neighbours, lovers of money, supreme in their own thoughts, and submit to none; all their spiritual life they talk of, is nothing but spiritual fancy and illusion; they are still under the power of their passions,

passions, and their sin rules them imperiously, and carries them away infallibly. Let these men consider, there are some men think it impossible to do as much as they do: the common swearer cannot leave that vice, and talk well; and these men that talk thus well, think they cannot do as well as they talk; but both of them are equally under the power of their respective sins, and are equally deceived, and equally not the servants of God. This is true; but it is equally as true, that there is no necessity for all this; for it ought, and it may be otherwise if we please: for I pray be pleased to hear St. *Paul; Walk in the spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh*;* There is your remedy: *For the spirit lusteth against the flesh, and the flesh against the spirit;* there is the cause of it; ἵνα μὴ ποιῆτε, *so that ye may not or cannot do the things ye would;* that is the blessed consequent and product of that cause: that is plainly, as there is a state of carnality, (of which St. *Paul* speaks in my text) so that in that state a man cannot but obey the flesh; so there is also a state of spirituality, when sin is dead, and righteousness is alive; and in this state the flesh can no more prevail, than the spirit could do in the other. Some men cannot chuse but sin; for *the carnal mind is not subject to God, neither indeed can be* † (saith St. *Paul*); but there are also some men that cannot indure any thing that is not good. It is a great pain for a temperate man to suffer the disorders of drunkenness; and the shames of lust are intolerable to a chaste and modest person. This also is affirmed by St. *John, Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, for his seed remaineth in him* ‡. So that you see it is possible for a good man not to commit the sin to which he is tempted; but the apostle says more, *He doth not commit sin, neither indeed can he, because he is born of God.*

And this is agreeable to the words of our blessed Saviour;

* Gal. v. 16. † Rom. viii. 7. ‡ 1 John iii. 9.

Saviour; *A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit, and a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit;** that is; as the child of hell is carried to sin *pleno impetu*, he does not check at it, he does it and is not troubled; so on the other side a child of God is as fully convinced of righteousness, and that which is unrighteous is as hateful to him as *colocynths* to the taste, or the sharpest punctures to the pupil of the eye. We may see something of this in common experiences. What man of ordinary prudence and reputation can be tempted to steal? or for what price would he be tempted to murder his friend? If we did hate all sins as we hate these, would it not be as easy to be as innocent in other instances as most men are in these? and we should have as few drunkards as we have thieves. In such as these we do not complain in the words of my text, *What I would not, that I do; and what I would I do not.* Does not every good man overcome all the power of great sins? And can he by the spirit of God and right reason, by fear and hope conquer *Goliah*, and beat the sons of the giant; and can he not overcome the little children of Gath? Or is it harder to overcome a little sin than a great one? Are not the temptations to little sins very little? and yet are they greater and stronger than a mighty grace? Could the poor demoniac that lived in the graves, by the power of the devil break his iron chains in pieces? and cannot he who hath the spirit of God dissolve the chains of sin? *Through Christ that strengthens me, I can do all things*, saith St. *Paul: Satis sibi copiarum cum Publio Decio, & nunquam nimium hostium fore*, said one in *Livy;* which is best rendered by St. *Paul, If God be with us, who can be against us?* Nay, there is an ὑπερνικῶμεν in St. *Paul, We are more than conquerors:* For even amongst an army of conquerors there are degrees of exaltation; some serve God like the Centurion, and some like St. *Peter;* some like *Martha*,

* Matt. vii. 18.

Martha, and some like *Mary*; μετ' ἐυκολίας ἅπάσης, ἀνευ πόνων καὶ ἱδρώτων, all good men conquer their temptation, but some with more ease, and some with a clearer victory; and more than thus, *Non solum viperam terimus, sed ex ea antidotum conficimus*, We kill the viper, and make treacle of him; that is, not only escape from, but get advantages by temptations. But we commonly are more afraid than hurt; *Let us therefore lay aside every weight, and the sin that doth so easily beset us**; so we read the words of the apostle: but St. *Chrysostom's* rendition of them is better; for the word ἐυπερίςατ☞ is a perfect passive, and cannot signify the strength and irresistibility of sin upon us, but the quite contrary; ἐυπερίςατ☞ ἁμαρτία signifies the sin that is so easily avoided, as they that understand that language know very well. And if we were so wise and valiant as not to affright ourselves with our own own terrors, we should quickly find, that by the help of the spirit of God we can do more than we thought we could. It was said of *Alexander*, *Bene ausus est vana contemnere*, he did no great matter in conquering the Persians, because they were a pitiful and a soft people; only he understood them to be so, and was wise and bold enough not to fear such images and men of clouts. But men in the matter of great sins and little, do as the *Magicians* of *Ægypt;* when *Moses* turned his rod into a serpent, it moved them not; but when they saw the lice and the flies, then they were afraid. We see that by the grace of God we can escape great sins; but we start at flies, and a bird out of a bush disorders us; the lion in the way troubles us not, but a frog and a worm affrights us. Remember the saying of St. *Paul*, *Christ came to redeem to himself a church, and to present it pure and spotless before the throne of Grace*; and if you mean to be of this number, you must endeavour to be under this qualification, that is, (as *Paul* laboured to be) *void of offence both towards God and towards Man*

* Heb. xii. 1.

Man. And so I have done with the second proposition; it is necessary that all sin great and little should be mortified and dead in us, and that we no longer abide in that state of slavery as to say, *The good that I would, I do not; but the evil that I would not, that I do.*

3. In the next place we are to inquire in what degree this is to be effected; for though in negatives properly there are no degrees, yet unless there be some allays in this doctrine it will not be so well, and it may be your experiences will for ever confute my arguments: for, *Who can say that he is clean from his sin?* (said the wise man): and as our blessed Saviour said, *He that is innocent among you all, let him throw the first stone at the sinner*, and spare not.

To this I answer in the words of St. *Gregory*; all man's righteousness will be found to be unrighteous, if God should severely enter into judgment; but therefore even after our innocence we must pray for pardon, *ut quæ succumbere discussa poterat, ex judicis pietate convalescat*, that our innocence, which in strictness of divine judgment would be found spotted and stained, by the mercy of our Saviour may be accepted. St. *Bernard* expresses this well; *Nostra siqua est humilis justitia, recta forsitan sed non pura;* our humble righteousness is perhaps right in the eyes of God, but not pure; that is, accepted by his mercy, but it is such as dares not contend in judgment. For as no man is so much a sinner, but he sometimes speaks a good word, or does some things not ill; and yet that little good interrupts not that state of evil: so it is amongst very good men, from whom sometimes may pass something that is not commendable; and yet their heart is so habitually right towards God, that they will do nothing but (I do not say which God in justice cannot, but) which in mercy he will not impute to eternal condemnation. It was the case of *David; he was a man after God's own heart*; nay it is said, *he was blameless save in the matter of* Uriah: and yet we know he numbered

numbered the people, and God was angry with him and punished him for it: but because he was a good man and served God heartily, that other fault of his was imputed to him no further: God set a fine upon his head for it, but it was *salvo contenemento*, the main stake was safe.

For concerning good men the question is not, whether or no God could not in the rigour of justice blame their indiscretion, or impute a foolish word, or chide them for a hasty answer, or a careless action, for a less devout prayer, or weak hands, for a fearful heart, or a trembling faith. These are not the measures by which God judges his children; *for he knoweth whereof we are made, and he remembers that we are but dust.* But the question is, whether any man that is covetous or proud, false to his trust, or a drunkard, can at the same time be a child of God? No certainly he cannot. But then we know that God judges us by Jesus Christ, that is, with the allays of mercy, with an eye of pardon, with the sentences of a father, by the measures of a man, and by analogy to all our unavoidable abatements. God could enter with us into a more severe judgment, but he would not; and no justice tied him from exercising that mercy. But according to the measures of the gospel, *he will judge every man according to his works.* Now what these measures are is now the question. To which I answer first in general, and then more particularly.

1. In general thus. A Christian's innocence is always to be measured by the plain lines and measures of the commandments; but are not to be taken into account by uncertain and fond opinions, and the scruples of zealous and timorous persons. My meaning is this. Some men tell us that every natural inclination to a forbidden object is a sin; which they that believe, finding them to be natural, do also confess that such sins are unavoidable. But if these natural and first motions be sins, then a man sins whether he resists them, or resists them not, whether he prevails or prevails not; and there

there is no other difference but this; he that fights not against, but always yields to his desires, sins greatest; and he that never yields, but fights always, sins oftenest. But then, by this reckoning it will indeed be impossible to avoid millions of sins; because the very doing of our duty does suppose a sin. If God should impute such first desires to us as sins, we were all very miserable; but if he does not impute them, let us trouble ourselves no further about them, but to take care that they never prevail upon us. Thus men are taught that they never say their prayers but they commit a sin. Indeed that is true but too often; but yet it is possible for us by the grace of God to please him in saying our prayers, and to be accepted of him. But indeed if God did proceed against us as we do against one another, no man could abide innocent for so much as one hour. But God's judgment is otherwise: he enquires if the heart be right, if our labour be true, if we love no sin, if we use prudent and efficacious instruments to mortify our sin, if we go about our religion as we go about the biggest concerns of our life; if we be sincere and real in our actions and intentions. For this is the ἀναμαρτησία that God requires of us all; this is that sinless state, in which if God does not find us, we shall never see his glorious face, and if he does find us, we shall certainly be saved by the blood of Jesus. For in the style of scripture to be εἰλικρίνεις καὶ ἀπρόσκοποι is the same thing; to be sincere, and to be without offence is all one. Thus *David* spake heartily, *I am utterly purposed that my mouth shall not offend; and thou shalt find no wickedness in me.* He that endeavours this, and hopes this, and does actions, and uses means accordingly, not being deceived by his own false heart, nor abused by evil propositions, this man will stand upright in the congregations of the just; and though he cannot challenge heaven by merit, yet he shall receive it as a gift, by promise and by grace. *Lex nos innocentes esse jubet, non curiosos,* said *Seneca.* For God takes

takes no judgment of us by any measures, but of the commandment without, and the heart and the conscience within; but he never intended his laws to be a snare to us, or to entrap us with consequences and dark interpretations, by large deductions and witty similitudes of faults; but he requires of us a sincere heart, and a hearty labour in the work of his commandments: he calls upon us to avoid all that which his law plainly forbids, and which our consciences do condemn. This is the general measure. The particulars are briefly these.

1. Every Christian is bound to arrive at that state, that he have remaining in him no habit of any sin whatsoever. Our old man must be crucified; the body of sin must be destroyed; he must no longer serve sin; sin shall not have the dominion over you. All these are the Apostle's words; that is plainly, as I have already declared, you must not be at that pass, that though ye would avoid sin ye cannot. For he that is so is a most perfect slave, and Christ's freed man cannot be so. Nay, he that loves sin, and delights in it, hath no liberty indeed, but he hath more shew of it, than he that obeys it against his will.

——*Libertatis servaveris umbram,*
Si quicquid jubeare velis——

He that loves to be in the place, is a less prisoner, than he that is confined against his will.

2. He that commits any one sin by choice and deliberation is an enemy to God, and is under the dominion of the flesh. In the case of deliberate sins one act does give the denomination; he is an adulterer that so much as once fully breaks the holy laws of marriage. *He that offends in one is guilty of all*, saith St. *James*. St. *Peter*'s denial, and *David*'s adultery had passed on to a fatal issue, if the mercy of God and a great repentance had not interceded. But they did so no more,

and

and so God restored them to grace and pardon. And in this sense are the words of St. *John*, ὁ ποιῶν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, *he that does a sin is of the Devil*, and *he that is born of God* ἁμαρτίαν οὐ ποιεῖ, *he does not commit a sin*, he chuses none, he loves none, he endures none, *talia quæ non facict bonæ fidei & spei Christianus;* they do no great sin, and love no little one. A sin chosen and deliberately done, is, as *Tertullian*'s expression is, *crimen devoratorium salutis;* it devours salvation. For as there are some sins which can be done but once, as a man can kill his father but once, or himself but once; so in those things which can be repeated, a perfect choice is equivalent to a habit; it is the same in principle, that a habit is in the product. In short he is not a child of God, that knowingly and deliberately chuses any thing that God hates.

3. Every Christian ought to attain to such a state of life, as that he never sin, not only by a long deliberation, but also not by passion. I do not say that he is not a good Christian, who by passion is suddenly surprized and falls into folly; but this I say, that no passion ought to make him chuse a sin. For let the sin enter by anger or by desire, it is all one, if the consent be gained. It is an ill sign if a man, though on the sudden, consents to a base action. Thus far every good man is tied, not only to endeavour, but to prevail against his sin.

4. There is one step more; which if it be not actually effected, it must at least be greatly endeavoured, and the event to be left to God: and that is, that we strive for so great a dominion over our sins and lust, as that we be not surprized on a sudden. This indeed is a work of time; it is well if it be ever done; but it must always be endeavoured. But in this particular, even good men are sometimes unprosperous. St. *Epiphanius*, and St. *Chrysostom* grew once into choler, and they past too far, and lost more than their argument, they lost their reason, and they lost their patience: and *Epiphanius* wished that St. *Chrysostom* might not die a bishop;

a bishop; and he in a peevish exchange wished that *Epiphanius* might never return to his bishopric; when they had forgotten their foolish anger, God remembered it, and said *Amen* to both their cursed speakings. Nay, there is yet a greater example of human frailty; St. *Paul* and *Barnabas* were very holy persons, but once in a heat they were both to blame, they were peevish and parted company. This was not very much: but God was so displeased, even for this little fly in their box of ointment, that their story says they never saw one another's face again. These earnest emissions and transportations of passion do sometime declare the weakness of good men: but that even here we ought at least to endeavour to be more than conquerors appears in this, because God allows it not, and by punishing such follies does manifest that he intends that we should get victory over our sudden passions, as well as our natural lusts. And so I have done with the third inquiry, in what degree God expects our innocence; and now I briefly come to the last particular, which will make all the rest practicable; I am now to tell you how all this can be effected, and how we shall get free from the power and dominion of our sins.

4. The first great instrument is Faith. He that hath faith like a grain of mustard-seed can remove mountains; the mountains of sin shall fall flat at the feet of the faithful man, and shall be removed into the sea, the sea of Christ's blood and penitential waters. *Faith overcometh the world,* saith St. *John;* and *walk in the spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh*: there are two of our enemies gone; the world and the flesh, by faith and the spirit, by the spirit of faith; and as for the devil, *put on the shield of faith,* and *resist the devil, and he will flee from you,* saith the Apostle; and the powers of sin seem insuperable to none, but to them that have not faith; we do not believe that God intends we should do what he seems to require of us; or else we think that though God's grace abounds

abounds, yet sin must superabound, expressly against the saying of St. *Paul;* or else we think that the evil spirit is stronger than the good spirit of God. Hear what St. *John* saith, *My little children, ye are of God, and have overcome the evil one; for the spirit that is in you is greater than that which is in the world.** Believest thou this? If you do, I shall tell you what may be the event of it. When the father of the boy, possessed with the devil, told his sad story to Christ, he said; *Master if thou canst do any thing, I pray help me:* Christ answered him, *If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth.*† N. B. And therefore if you do believe this, go to your prayers, and go to your guards, and go to your labour, and try what God will do for you. For whatsoever things ye desire when ye pray, believe that ye may receive them, and ye shall have them. Now consider; do not we every day pray in the divine hymn called *Te Deum, Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin?* and in the collect at morning prayer, [*and grant that this day we fall into no sin, neither run into any kind of danger, but that all our doing may be ordered by thy governance, to do always that which is righteous in thy sight?*] Have you any hope, or any faith when you say that prayer? And if you do your duty as you can, do you think the failure will be on God's part? Fear not that; if you can trust in God, and do accordingly; *though your sins were as scarlet, yet they shall be as white as snow*, and pure as the feet of the holy Lamb. Only let us forsake all those weak propositions which cut the nerves of faith, and make it impossible for us to actuate all our good desires, or to come out from the power of sin.

2. He that would be free from slavery of sin, and the necessity of sinning must always watch. Aye, that's the point; but who can watch always? Why every good man can watch always: and that we may not be deceived

* 1 John. iv. 4. † Mark ix. xxiii.

deceived in this, let us know, that the running away from a temptation is a part of our watchfulness, and every good employment is another great part of it, and a laying in provision of reason and religion before hand, is yet a third part of this watchfulness; and the conversation of a Christian is a perpetual watchfulness; not a continual thinking of that one, or those many things which may indanger us; but it is a continual doing something directly or indirectly against sin. He either prays to God for his Spirit, or relies upon the promises, or receives the sacrament, or goes to his bishop for counsel and a blessing, or to his priest for religious offices, or places himself at the feet of good men to hear their wise sayings, or calls for the churche's prayers, or does the duty of his calling, or actually resists temptation, or frequently renews his holy purposes, or fortifies himself by vows, or searches into his danger by a daily examination; so that in the whole he is for ever upon his guard. This duty and caution of a Christian is like watching lest a man cut his finger. Wise men do not often cut their fingers, and yet every day they use a knife; and a man's eye is a tender thing, and every thing can do it wrong, and every thing can put it out; yet because we love our eyes so well, in the midst of so many dangers, by God's providence and a prudent natural care, by winking when any thing comes against them, and by turning aside when a blow is offered, they are preserved so certainly, that not one in ten thousand does by a stroke lose one of his eyes in all his life time. If we would transplant our natural care to a spiritual caution, we might by God's grace be kept from losing our souls, as we are from losing our eyes; and because a perpetual watchfulness is our great defence, and the perpetual presence of God's grace is our great security, and that this grace never leaves us, unless we leave it, and the precept of a daily watchfulness is a thing not only so reasonable, but so many easy ways to be performed, we see upon what terms

terms we may be quit of our sins, and more than conquerors over all the enemies and impediments of salvation.

3 If you would be in the state of the *liberty of the sons of God*, that is, that you may not be servants of sin in any instance; be sure in the mortifications of sin, willingly or carelessly to leave no remains of it, no nest-egg, no principles of it, no affections to it; if any thing remains, it will prove to us as manna to the sons of *Israel* on the second day, *it will breed worms and stink*. Therefore labour against every part of it, reject every proposition that gives it countenance; pray to God against it all; and what then? Why then, *ask and you shall have* (said Christ.) Nay, say some, it is true, you shall be heard; but in part only; for God will leave some remains of sin within us, lest we should become proud by being innocent. So vainly do men argue against God's goodness and their own blessings and salvation, μετα πλειον ⊙ τέχνης και παρασκευῆς, και πραγματειας ἀπόλλυνται, (as St. *Basil* says) they contrive witty arts to undo themselves, being intangled in the periods of ignorant disputations. But as to the thing itself, if by the remains of sin they mean the propensities and natural inclinations to forbidden objects; there is no question but they will remain in us so long as we bear our flesh about us; and surely that is a great argument to make us humble. But these are not the sins which God charges on his people. But if by remains we mean any part of the habit of sin, any affection, any malice or perverseness of the will; then it is a contradiction to say that God leaves in us such remains of sin, lest by innocence we become proud: for how should pride spring in a man's heart, if there be no remains of sin left? And is it not the best, the surest way to cure the pride of our hearts, by taking out every root of bitterness, even the root of pride itself? Will a physician purposely leave the relics of a disease, and pretend he does it to prevent a relapse? And is it not more likely he will relapse, if the sickness be not wholly

cured? But, but besides this; if God leaves any remains of sin in us, what remains are they, and of what sins? Does he leave the remains of pride? If so; that were a strange cure, to leave the remains of pride in us to keep us from being proud. But if not so; but that all the remains of pride be taken away by the grace of God blessing our endeavours, what danger is there of being proud, the remains of which sin are by the grace of God wholly taken away? But then, if the pride of the heart be cured, which is the hardest to be removed, and commonly is done last of all, who can distrust the power of the spirit of God, or his goodness, or his promises, and say that God does not intend to cleanse his sons and servants from all unrighteousness; and according to St. *Paul*'s prayer, *keep their bodies and souls, and spirits, unblameable to the coming of the Lord Jesus?* But however, let God leave what remains he please, all will be well enough on that side; but let us be careful, as far as we can, that we leave none; lest it be severely imputed to us, and the fire break out and consume us.

4. Let us without any further question, put this argument to a material issue: let us do all that we can do towards the destruction of the whole body of sin; but let us never say we cannot be quit of our sin, till we have done all that we can do towards the mortification of it. For till that be done, how can any man tell where the fault lies, or whether it can be done or no? If any man can say that he hath done all that he could do, and yet hath failed of his duty; if he can say truly, that he hath endured as much as is possible to be endured, that he hath watched always, and never nodded, when he could avoid it, that he hath loved as much as he could love, that he hath waited till he can wait no longer; then indeed, if he says true, we must confess that it is not to be understood. But is there any man in the world that does all that he can do? If there be, that man is blameless; if there be not, then he

he cannot say but it is his own fault that his sin prevails against him. It is true that no man is free from sin; but it is as true, that no man does as much as he can against it: and therefore no man must go about to excuse himself by saying, no man is free from his sin; and therefore no man can be, no not by the powers of grace: for he may as well argue thus; No man does do all that he can do against it; and therefore it is impossible he should do what he can do. The argument is apparently foolish, and the excuse is weak, and the deception visible, and sin prevails upon our weak arguings; but the consequence is plainly this: when any man commits a sin, he is guilty before God; and he cannot say he could not help it, and God is just in punishing every sin, and very merciful when he forgives us any: but he that says he cannot avoid it, that he cannot overcome his lust, confesses himself a servant of sin, and that he is not yet redeemed by the blood of the Holy Lamb.

5. He that would be advanced beyond the power and necessity of sinning must take great caution concerning his thoughts and secret desires: *For lust when it is conceived bringeth forth sin;* but if it be suppressed in the conception, it comes to nothing: but we find it hard to destroy the serpent when the egg is hatched into a cockatrice. The thought is ἀμάξλος & ἁμαρτία; no man takes notice of it, but lets it alone till the sin be too strong, and then we complain we cannot help it. *Nolo sinas cogitationem crescere,** suffer not your thoughts to grow up: for they usually come ἀχρών, ὡσακόπως ἀπραγματεύτως, (as St. *Basil* says) suddenly, and easily, and without business; but take heed that you nurse them not; but if you chance to stumble, mend your pace; and if you nod, let it awaken you; for he only can be a good man, that raises himself up at the first trip, that strangles his sin in the birth:

* *Ille laudatur, qui ut cœperint statim interficit cogitata, & allidit ad petram.*

τοιαῦται τῶν ἁγίων ψυχαὶ, πρὶν ἔπεσαν ἀνίσανται, good men rise up again even before they fall, saith St. *Chrysostom.* Now I pray consider, that when sin is but in the thought it is easily suppressed; and if it be stopped there, it can go no further; and what great mountain of labour is it then to abstain from our sin? Is not the adultery of the eye easily cured by shutting the eye-lid? and cannot the thoughts of the heart be turned aside by doing business, by going into company, by reading or by sleeping? A man may divert his thoughts by shaking of his head, by thinking any thing else, by thinking nothing. *Da mihi Christianum* (saith St. *Austin*) *& intelligit quod dico.* Every man that loves God understands this, and more than this to be true. Now if things be thus, and that we may be safe in that which is supposed to be the hardest of all, we must needs condemn ourselves, and lay our faces in the dust when we give up ourselves to any sin; we cannot be justified by saying we could not help it. For, as it was decreed by the fathers of the 2d. *Aurasican* Council *Hoc, etiam secundum fidem Catholicam credimus, &c.* This we believe according to the Catholic faith, that have received baptismal grace; all that are baptized by the aid and corporation of Christ, must and can (if they will labour faithfully) perform and fulfil those things which belong unto salvation.

6. And lastly, if sin hath gotten the power of any one of us, consider in what degree the sin hath prevailed: if but a little, the battle will be more easy, and the victory more certain; but then be sure to do it thoroughly, because there is not much to be done: but if sin hath prevailed greatly, then indeed you have very much to do; therefore begin betimes, and defer not this work till old age shall make it extremely difficult, or death shall make it impossible.

Nam quamvis prope te, quamvis temone sub uno
Vertentem sese frustra sectabere canthum,
Cum rota posterior curras, & in axe secundo.

If

If thou beest cast behind; if thou hast neglected the duties of thy vigorous age, thou shalt never overtake that strength: the hinder wheel, though bigger than the former, and measures more ground at every revolution, yet shall never overtake it; and all the second counsels of thy old age, though undertaken with greater resolution, and acted with the strengths of fear and need, and pursued with more pertinacious purposes than the early repentances of young men, yet shall never overtake those advantages which you lost when you gave your youth to folly, and the causes of a sad repentance.

However if you find it so hard a thing to get from the power of one master-sin; if an old adulterer does dote, if an old drunkard be further from remedy than a young sinner, if covetousness grows with old age, if ambition be still more hydropic and grows more thirsty for every draught of honour, you may easily resolve that old age, or your last sickness is not so likely to be prosperous in the mortification of your long prevailing sins. Do not all men desire to end their days in religion, to die in the arms of the church, to expire under the conduct of a religious man? When ye are sick or dying, then nothing but prayers and sad complaints, and the groans of a tremulous repentance, and the faint labours of an almost impossible mortification: then the despised priest is sent for: then he is a good man, and his words are oracles, and religion is truth, and sin is a load, and the sinner is a fool: then we watch for a word of comfort from his mouth, as the fearful prisoner for his fate upon the judge's answer. That which is true then, is true now; and therefore to prevent so intollerable a danger, mortify your sin betimes, for else you will hardly mortify it at all. Remember that the snail out-went the eagle and won the goal, because she set out betimes.

To sum up all, every good man is a new creature, and Christianity is not so much a divine institution, as

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a divine frame and temper of spirit, which if we heartily pray for, and endeavour to obtain, we shall find it as hard and as uneasy to sin against God, as now we think it impossible to abstain from our most pleasing sins. For as it is in the spermatic virtue of the heavens, which diffuses itself universally upon all sublunary bodies, and subtilely insinuating itself into the most dull and inactive element, produces gold and pearls, life and motion, and brisk activities in all things that can receive the influence and heavenly blessing; so it is in the Holy Spirit of God, and the word of God, and the grace of God, which St. *John* calls the seed of God; it is a law of righteousness, and it is a law of the spirit of life, and changes nature into grace, and dullness into zeal, and fear into love, and sinful habits into innocence, and passes on from grace to grace, till we arrive at the full measures of the stature of Christ, and into the perfect liberty of the sons of God; so that we shall no more say, The evil that I would not that I do; but we shall hate what God hates, and the evil that is forbidden we shall not do, not because we are strong of ourselves, but because Christ is our strength, and he is in us, and Christ's strength shall be perfected in our weakness, and his grace will be sufficient for us: and he will of his own good pleasure work in us, not only to will but also to do, *velle & perficere*, saith the apostle, to will and to do it thoroughly, and fully, being sanctified throughout, to the glory of his holy name, and the eternal salvation of our souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom with the Father, &c.

SERMON

SERMON III.

FIDES FORMATA;

OR,

FAITH WORKING BY LOVE.

JAMES ii. 24.

You see then, how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only.

THAT we are *justified by faith*, St. *Paul* * tells us; that we are also *justified by works*, we are told in my text; and both may be true. But that this justification is wrought by faith without works, *to him that worketh not, but believeth* (saith St. *Paul*): that this is not wrought without works St. *James* is as express for his negative as St. *Paul* was for his affirmative; and how both these should be true, is something harder to unriddle. But, *affirmanti incumbit probatio*, he that affirms must prove; and therefore St. *Paul* proves his doctrine by the example of *Abraham*, to whom faith was imputed for righteousness; and therefore not by works. And what can be answered to this? Nothing but this, That St. *James* uses the very same argument to prove

* Rom. iii. 28; iv. 5; v. 1; x. 10; Gal. ii. 16.

that

that our justification is by works also; [*For our father* Abraham *was justified by works, when he offered up his Son* Isaac.*] Now which of these says true? Certainly both of them; but neither of them have been well understood; insomuch that they have not only made divisions of heart among the faithful, but one party relies on faith to the disparagement of good life, and the other makes works to be the main ground of our hope and confidence, and consequently to exclude the efficacy of faith: the one makes the Christian religion a lazy and unactive institution; and the other a bold presumption on ourselves; while the first tempts us to live like Heathens, and the other recalls us to live the life of Jews; while one says, *I am of Paul*, and another, *I am of St. James*, and both of them put it in danger of evacuating the institution and the death of Christ; one looking on Christ only as a law-giver, and the other only as a Saviour. The effects of these are very sad, and by all means to be diverted by all the wise considerations of the spirit.

My purpose is not with subtle arts to reconcile them that never disagreed; the two apostles spake by the same spirit, and to the same last design, though to differing intermediate purposes: but because the great end of faith, the design, the definition, the state, the œconomy of it, is that all believers should not live according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. Before I fall to the close handling of the text, I shall premise some preliminary considerations to prepare the way of holiness, to explicate the differing senses of the apostles, to understand the question and the duty, by removing the causes of the vulgar mistakes of most men in this article, and then proceed to the main inquiry.

1. That no man may abuse himself or others by mistaking of hard words, spoken in mystery, with allegorical expressions to secret senses, wrapt up in a

* James ii. 9,

cloud;

cloud; such as are [*faith*, and *justification*, and *imputation*, and *righteousness*, and *works*] be pleased to consider, that the very word *faith* is in scripture infinitely ambiguous, insomuch that in the Latin concordances of St. *Hierome's* Bible, published by *Robert Stephens*, you may see no less that twenty-two several senses and acceptations of the word *faith*, set down with the several places of scripture referring to them; to which if out of my own observation I could add no more, yet these are an abundant demonstration, that whatsoever is said of the efficacy of faith for justification, is not to be taken in such a sense as will weaken the necessity, and our carefulness of good life, when the word may in so many other senses be taken to verify the affirmation of St. *Paul*, of justification by faith, so as to reconcile it to the necessity of obedience.

2. As it is in the word *faith*, so it is in *works*; for by *works* is meant sometimes the thing done, sometimes the labour of doing, sometimes the good will; it is sometimes taken for a state of good life, sometimes for the covenant of works; it sometimes means the works of the law, sometimes the works of the gospel; sometimes it is taken for a perfect, actual, unsinning obedience, sometimes for a sincere endeavour to please God; sometimes they are meant to be such which can challenge the reward as of debt; sometimes they mean only a disposition of the person to receive the favour and the grace of God. Now since our good works can be but of one kind (for ours cannot be meritorious, ours cannot be without sin all our life, they cannot be such as need no repentance) it is no wonder if we must be justified without works in this sense; for by such works no man living can be justified: and these St. *Paul* calls the works of the law, and sometimes he calls them our righteousness; and these are the covenant of works. But because we came into the world to serve God, and God will be obeyed, and Jesus Christ came into the world to save us from sin, and

and *to redeem to himself a people zealous of good works*, and hath to this purpose revealed to us all his Father's will, and destroyed the works of the devil, and gives us his Holy Spirit, and by him we shall be justified in this obedience; therefore when works signify a sincere, hearty endeavour to keep all God's commands, out of a belief in Christ, that if we endeavour to do so we shall be pardoned for what is past, and if we continue to do so we shall receive a crown of glory; therefore it is no wonder that it is said we are to be justified by works; always meaning, not the works of the law, that is, works that are meritorious, works that can challenge the reward, works that need no mercy, no repentance, no humiliation, and no appeal to grace and favour; but always meaning works that are an obedience to God by the measures of good will, and a sincere endeavour, and the faith of the Lord Jesus.

3. But thus also it is in the word *Justification*: for God is justified, and wisdom is justified, and man is justified, and a sinner is not justified as long as he continues in sin; and a sinner is justified when he repents, and when he is pardoned; and an innocent person is justified when he is declared to be no criminal; and a righteous man is justified when he is saved; and a weak Christian is justified when his imperfect services are accepted for the present, and himself thrust forward to more grace; and he that is justified may be justified more; and every man that is justified to one purpose is not so to all; and faith in divers senses, gives justification in as many; and therefore though to every sense of faith there is not always a degree of justification in any, yet when the faith is such that justification is the product and correspondent, as that faith may be imperfect, so the justification is but begun, and either must proceed further, or else as the faith will die, so the justification will come to nothing. The like observation might be made concerning imputation,

tation, and all the words used in this question; but these may suffice till I pass to other particulars.

4 Not only the word *faith*, but also *charity* and *godliness*, and *religion*, signify sometimes particular graces, and sometimes they suppose universally, and mean conjugations and unions of graces, as is evident to them that read the Scriptures with observation. Now when justification is attributed to faith, or salvation to godliness, they are to be understood in the aggregate sense: for, that I may give but one instance of this, when St. *Paul* speaks of faith as it is a particular grace, and separate from the rest, he also does separate it from all possibility of bringing us to heaven; *Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have no charity, I am nothing** : when faith includes charity, it will bring us to heaven; when it is alone, when it is without charity, it will do nothing at all.

5. Neither can this φαινόμενον be salved by saying, that though faith alone does justify, yet when she does justify she is not alone, but good works must follow: for this is said to no purpose;

1. Because if we be justified by faith alone, the work is done whether charity does follow or no; and therefore that want of charity cannot hurt us.

2. There can be no imaginable cause why charity and obedience should be at all necessary, if the whole work can be done without it.

3. If obedience and charity be not a condition of our salvation, then it is not necessary to follow faith; but if it be, it does as much as faith, for that is but a part of the condition.

4. If we can be saved without charity and keeping the commandments, what need we trouble ourselves for them; if we cannot be saved without them, then either faith without them does not justify, or if it does

* 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

we

we are never the better, for we may be damned for all that justification.

The consequent of these observations is briefly this.

1. That no man should fool himself by disputing about the philosophy of justification, and what causality faith hath in it, and whether it be the act of faith that justifies, or the habit? Whether faith as a good work, or faith as an instrument? Whether faith as it is obedience, or faith as it is an access to Christ? Whether as a hand, or as a heart? Whether by its own innate virtue, or by the efficacy of the object? Whether as a sign, or as a thing signified? Whether by introduction, or by perfection? Whether in the first beginnings, or in its last and best productions? Whether by inherent worthiness, or adventitious imputation? *Uberiùs ista quæso, &c.* (that I may use the words of *Cicero*) *hæc enim spinosiora priùs, ut confiteor, me cogunt quam ut assentiar**; these things are knotty and too intricate to do any good; they may amuse us, but never instruct us; and they have already made men careless and confident, disputative and troublesome, proud and uncharitable, but neither wiser nor better. Let us therefore leave these weak ways of troubling ourselves or others, and directly look to the theology of it, the direct duty, the end of faith, and the work of faith, the conditions and the instruments of our salvation, the just foundation of our hopes, how our faith can destroy our sin, and how it can unite us unto God; how by it we can be made partakers of Christ's death, and imitators of his life. For since it is evident by the premises, that this article is not to be determined or relied upon by arguing from words of many significations, we must walk by a clearer light, by such plain sayings and dogmatical propositions of Scripture which evidently teach us our duty, and place our hopes upon that which cannot deceive us, that is which

* Tuscul. i.

require

require obedience, which call upon us to glorify God, and to do good to men, and to keep all God's commandments with diligence and sincerity.

For since the end of our faith is that we may be disciples and servants of the Lord Jesus, advancing his kingdom here, and partaking of it hereafter; since we are commanded to believe what Christ taught, that it may appear as reasonable as it is necessary to do what he hath commanded; since faith and works are in order one to the other, it is impossible that evangelical faith and evangelical works should be opposed one to the other in the effecting of our salvation. So that as it is to no purpose for Christians to dispute whether we are justified by faith or the works of the law, that is the covenant of works without the help of faith and the auxiliaries and allowances of mercy on God's part, and repentance on ours; because no Christian can pretend to this: so it is perfectly foolish to dispute whether Christians are to be justified by faith or the works of the gospel, for I shall make it appear that they are both the same thing. No man disparages faith but he that says, faith does not work righteousness; for he that says so, says indeed it cannot justify, for he says that faith is alone: it is faith only, and the words of my text are plain; *You see* (saith St. *James*) that is, it is evident to your sense, it is as clear as an ocular demonstration, *that a man is justified by works and not by faith only.*

My text hath in it these two propositions; a negative and an affirmative. The negative is this, 1. By faith only a man is not justified. The affirmative, 2. By works also a man is justified.

When I have briefly discoursed of these, I shall only add such practical considerations as shall make the doctrines useful, and tangible, and material.

1. By faith only a man is not justified. By faith only, here is meant, faith without obedience. For what do we think of those that detain the faith in unrighteousness?

ness? They have faith, they could not else keep it in so ill a cabinet: but yet the apostle reckons them amongst the reprobates; for the *abominable, the reprobates, and the disobedient* are all one; and therefore such persons for all their faith shall have no part with faithful *Abraham:* for none are his children but they that *do the works* of Abraham. Abraham's *faith without* Abraham's *works is nothing:* for of him *that hath faith, and hath not works* St. *James* asks, *Can faith save him?** meaning that it is impossible. For what think we of those that did miracles in Christ's name, and in his name cast out devils? Have not they faith? Yes, *omnem fidem*, all faith, that is alone, for they could remove mountains: but yet to many of them Christ will say, *Depart from me ye workers of iniquity, I know you not.* Nay at last, what think we of the devils themselves? have not they faith? Yes, and this faith is not *fides miraculorum* neither, but it is an operative faith, it works a little, for it makes them tremble; and it may be that is more than thy faith does to thee: and yet dost thou hope to be saved by a faith that does less to thee than the devil's faith does to him? That is impossible. For *faith without works is dead*, saith St. *James.* It is *manus arida*, saith St. *Austin*, it is a withered hand; and that which is dead cannot work the life of grace in us, much less obtain eternal life for us. In short, a man may have faith, and yet do the works of unrighteousness; he may have faith and be a devil; and then what can such a faith do to him or for him? It can do him no good in the present constitution of affairs. St. *Paul*, from whose mistaken words much noise hath been made in this question, is clear in this particular. *Nothing in Christ Jesus can avail, but faith working by charity*†; that is, as he expounds himself once and again; *nothing but a new creature*‡, *nothing but keeping the com-*

* James ii. 14. † Gal. v. 6. ‡ Gal. vi. 15.

mandments

*mandments of God**. If faith be defined to be any thing that does not change our natures, and make us to be a new creation unto God; if keeping the commandments be not in the definition of faith, it avails nothing at all. Therefore deceive not yourselves; they are the words of our blessed Lord himself; *Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord*, that is not every one that confesses Christ, and believes in him, calling Christ Master and Lord shall be saved, *but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven*. These things are so plain, that they need no commentary; so evident that they cannot be denied: and to these I add but this one truth; that faith alone without a good life is so far from justifying a sinner, that it is one of the greatest aggravations of his condemnation in the whole world. For no man can be so greatly damned as he that hath faith; for unless he knows his master's will, that is, by faith be convinced, and assents to the revelations of the will of God, *he can be beaten but with few stripes:* but he that believes hath no excuse, he is αὐτοκατάκριτος, condemned by the sentence of his own heart, and therefore πολλαὶ πληγαὶ, many stripes, the greater condemnation shall be his portion. Natural reason is a light to the conscience, but faith is a greater, and therefore if it be not followed, it damns deeper than the hell of the infidels and uninstructed. And so I have done with the negative proposition of my text; a man is not justified by faith alone; that is, by faith which hath not in it charity and obedience.

2. If faith alone will not do it, what will? The affirmative part of the text answers; not faith alone; but works must be an ingredient: a man is justified by works; and that is now to be explicated and proved. It will be absolutely to no purpose to say that faith alone does justify, if when a man is justified, he is never the nearer to be saved. Now that without obe-

* 1 Cor. vii. 19.

dience

dience no man can go to heaven, is so evident in holy Scripture, that he that denies it, hath no faith. *There is no peace saith my God unto the wicked* *; and *I will not justify a sinner* †, saith God; unless faith purges away our sins it can never justify. Let a man believe all the revelations of God, if that belief ends in itself and goes no further, it is like physic taken to purge the stomach; if it does not work, it is so far from bringing health, that itself is a new sickness. Faith is a great purger and purifyer of the soul; *purifying your hearts by faith*, saith the apostle. It is the best physic in the world for a sinful soul; but if it does not work, it corrupts in the stomach, it make us to rely upon weak propositions and trifling confidences, it is but a dreaming μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας, a phantastic dream, and introduces pride and superstition, swelling thoughts and presumptions of the divine favour. But what saith the apostle? *Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man can see God* ‡: mark that. If faith does not make you charitable and holy, talk no more of justification by it, for you shall never see the glorious face of God. Faith indeed is a title and relation to Christ; it is a naming of his names, but what then? Why then saith the apostle, *Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity.*

For let any man consider, can the faith of Christ, and the hatred of God stand together? Can any man be justified that does not love God? Or can any man love God and sin at the same time? And does not he love sin that falls under its temptation, and obeys it in the lusts thereof, and delights in the vanity, and makes excuses for it, and returns to it with passion, and abides with pleasure? This will not do it; such a man cannot be justified for all his believing. But therefore the apostle shews us a more excellent way: *This is a true saying, and I will that thou affirm constantly, that they who have believed in God, be careful to*

* Isai. lvii. 21. † Exod. xx. 7. ‡ Heb. xii. 14.

maintain

*maintain good works.** The apostle puts great force on this doctrine, he arms it with a double preface; the saying is true, and it is to be constantly affirmed; that is, it is not only true, but necessary; it is like *Pharaoh*'s dream doubled, because it is bound upon us by the decree of God, and it is unalterably certain, that every believer must do good works, or his believing will signify little; nay more than so, every man must be careful to do good works; and more yet, he must carefully maintain them, that is, not do them by fits and interrupted returns, but προϊσασθαι to be incumbent upon them, to dwell upon them, to maintain good works, that is, to persevere in them. But I am yet but in the general; be pleased to go along with me in these particular considerations.

1. No man's sins are pardoned, but in the same measure in which they are mortified, destroyed and taken away; so that if faith does not cure our sinful natures it never can justify, it never can procure our pardon. And therefore it is, that as soon as ever faith in the Lord Jesus was preached, at the same time also they preached repentance from dead works: in so much that St. *Paul* reckons it among the fundamentals and first principles of Christianity†; nay, the Baptist preached repentance and amendment of life as a preparation to the faith of Christ. And I pray consider; can there be any forgiveness of sins without repentance? But if an apostle should preach forgiveness to all that believe, and this belief did not also mean that they should repent and forsake their sin, the sermons of the apostle would make Christianity nothing else but the sanctuary of *Romulus*, a device to get together all the wicked people of the world, and to make them happy without any change of manners. Christ came to other purposes; he came *to sanctify us and to cleanse us by his word*‡; the word of faith was not for itself, but was a design of holiness, and the very

* Titus iii. 8. † Hebr. vi. 1. ‡ 1 John iii. 8.

*grace of God did appear**, for this end; that *teaching us to deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live holily, justly, and soberly in this present world*†: he came to gather a people together; not like *David*'s army. when *Saul* pursued him, but the armies of the Lord, *a faithful people, a chosen generation;* and what is that? The spirit of God adds, *a people zealous of good works.* Now as Christ proved his power to forgive sins by curing the poor man's palsy, because a man is never pardoned but when the punishment is removed; so the great act of justification of a sinner, the pardoning of his sins is then only effected, when the spiritual evil is taken away: that is the best indication of a real and eternal pardon, when God takes away the hardness of the heart, the love of sin, the accursed habit, the evil inclination, the sin that doth so easily beset us: and when that is gone, what remains within us that God can hate? Nothing stays behind, but God's creation, the work of his own hands, the issues of his Holy Spirit. The faith of a Christian is πάσης ἁμαρτάδος ἀναιρετικὴ, it destroys the whole body of sin; and to suppose that Christ pardons a sinner, whom he doth not also purge and rescue from the dominion of sin, is to affirm that he justifies the wicked, that he calls good evil, and evil good, that he delights in a wicked person, that he makes a wicked man all one with himself; that he makes the members of an harlot at the same time also the members of Christ; but all this is impossible, and therefore ought not to be pretended to by any Christian. Severe are those words of our blessed Saviour, *Every plant in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away*‡. Faith ingrafts us into Christ; by faith we are inserted into the vine; but the plant that is ingrafted, must also be parturient and fruitful, or else it shall be quite cut off from the root, and thrown into the everlasting burning; and this is the full

* Eph. v. 25. † Tit. ii. 11. ‡ John xv. 2.

and

and plain meaning of those words so often used in Scripture for the magnification of faith, *The just shall live by faith;* no man shall live by faith but the just man; he indeed is justified by faith, but no man else; the unjust and the unrighteous man hath no portion in this matter. That is the first great consideration in this affair; no man is justified in the least sense of justification, that is, when it means nothing but the pardon of sins, but when his sin is mortified and destroyed.

2. No man is actually justified, but he that is in some measure sanctified. For the understanding and clearing of which proposition we must know, that justification when it is attributed to any cause, does not always signify justification actual. Thus when it is said in Scripture, *We are justified by the death of Christ*, it is but the same thing as to say, *Christ died for us;* and he rose again for us too, that we might indeed be justified in due time, and by just measures and dispositions; *he died for our sins, and rose again for our justification;* that is, by his death and resurrection he hath obtained this power, and effected this mercy, that if we believe him and obey, we shall be justified and made capable of all the blessings of the kingdom. But that this is no more but a capacity of pardon, of grace and of salvation, appears not only by God's requiring obedience as a condition on our parts; but by his expressly attributing this mercy to us at such times and in such circumstances, in which it is certain and evident that we could not actually be justified; for so saith the Scripture, *We when we were enemies, were reconciled to God by the death of his Son; and while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us;** that is, then was our justification wrought on God's part; that is, then he intended this mercy to us, then he resolved to shew us favour, to give us promises, and laws, and conditions, and hopes, and an infallible

* Rom. v. 8, 10.

economy of salvation; and when faith lays hold on this grace, and this justification, then we are to do the other part of it; that is, as God made it potential by the death and resurrection of Christ, so we laying hold on these things by faith, and working the righteousness of faith, that is, performing what is required on our parts, we, I say, make it actual: and for this very reason it is that the apostle puts more *emphasis* upon the resurrection of Christ than upon his death. *Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather, that is risen again**. And *Christ was both delivered for our sins, and is risen again for our justification* †; implying to us, that as it is in the principal, so it is in the correspondent; our sins indeed are potentially pardoned, when they are marked out for death and crucifixion; when by resolving and fighting against sin we die to sin daily, and are so made conformable to his death; but we must partake of Christ's resurrection before this justification can be actual; when we are *dead to sin, and are risen again unto righteousness*, then as we are *partakers of his death*, so we shall be *partakers of his resurrection* (saith St. *Paul*) that is, then we are truly, effectually, and indeed justified, till then we are not.

He that loveth gold shall not be justified, ‡ saith the wise *Bensirach*; he that is covetous, let his faith be what it will, shall not be accounted righteous before God, because he is not so in himself, and he is not so in Christ, for he is not in Christ at all; he hath no righteousness in himself, and he hath none in Christ: for if we be in Christ, or *if Christ be in us, the body is dead by reason of sin, and the spirit is life because of righteousness* §: For this the τὸ πιστὸν, that faithful thing, that is, the faithfulness is manifested; the *Emun*, from whence comes *Emunah*, which is the Hebrew word for faith, from whence *Amen* is derived. *Fiat quod dictum est*

* Rom. viii. 28. † Rom. iv. 25. ‡ Ecclus. xxxi.
§ Rom. viii. 10.

hinc

hinc inde; hoc fidum est, when God and we both say *Amen* to our promises and undertakings. *Fac fidelis sis fideli, cave fidem fluxam geras*,* said he, in the comedy, God is faithful, be thou so too, for if thou failest him, thy faith hath failed thee. *Fides sumitur pro eo quod est inter utrumque placitum*, says one; and then it is true which the prophet and the apostle said, *the just shall live by faith*, in both senses: *ex fide mea vivet, ex fide sua;* we live by God's faith, and by our own; by his fidelity, and by ours. When the righteousness of God becomes *your righteousness, and exceeds the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees;* when the righteousness of the law is fulfilled in us, *by walking not after the flesh, but after the spirit;* then we are justified by God's truth and by ours, by his grace, and our obedience. So that now we see that justification and sanctification cannot be distinguished, but as words of art signifiing the various steps of progression in the same course; they may be distinguished in notion and speculation, but never when they are to pass on to material events; for no man is justified but he that is also sanctified. They are the express words of St. *Paul, Whom he did foreknow, them he did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son* †, to be like to Christ; and then it follows, *Whom he hath predestinated*, so predestinated, *them he hath also called, and whom he hath called, them he hath also justified;* and then it follows, *Whom he hath justified, them he hath also glorified.* So that no man is justified, that is, so as to signify salvation, but sanctification must be precedent to it; and that was my second consideration ὅπερ ἔδει δεῖξαι, that which I was to prove.

3. I pray consider, that he that does not believe the promises of the Gospel, cannot pretend to faith in Christ; but the promises are all made to us upon the conditions of obedience, and he that does not believe them as Christ made them, believes them not at

* Plaut. Captiv. † Rom. viii. 29.

all.

all. *In well doing commit yourselves to God as unto a faithful Creator;* there is no committing ourselves to God without well doing, *For God will render to every man according to his deeds; to them that obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath; but to them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory and honour, and immortality, to them eternal life.** So that if faith apprehends any other promises, it is illusion, and not faith; God gave us none such, Christ purchased none such for us; search the Bible over and you shall find none such. But if faith lays hold on these promises that are, and as they are, then it becomes an article of our faith, that without obedience and a sincere endeavour to keep God's commandments, no man living can be justified: and therefore let us take heed when we magnify the free grace of God, we do not exclude the conditions which this free grace hath set upon us. Christ freely died for us, God pardons us freely in our first access to him; we could never deserve pardon, because when we need pardon we are enemies, and have no good thing in us; and he freely gives us of his Spirit, and freely he enables us to obey him, and for our little imperfect services he freely and bountifully will give us eternal life; here is free grace all the way, and he overvalues his pitiful services, who thinks that he deserves heaven by them; and that if he does his duty tolerably, eternal life is not a free gift to him, but a deserved reward.

Conscius est animus meus, experientia testis,
Mystica quæ retuli dogmata vera scio.
Non tamen idcirco scio me fore glorificandum,
Spes mea crux Christi, gratia, non opera.

It was the meditation of the wise chancellor of *Paris*: I know that without a good life, and the fruits of repentance, a sinner cannot be justified, and therefore I must live well, or I must die for ever. But if I do

* Rom. ii. 6, 7, 8.

live

live holily, I do not think that I deserve heaven; it is the cross of Christ that procures me grace; it is the Spirit of Christ that gives me grace; it is the mercy and the free gift of Christ that brings me unto glory. But yet he that shall exclude the works of *faith* from the justification of a sinner by the blood of Christ, may as well exclude *faith* itself; for faith itself is one of the works of God: it is a good work, so said Christ to them that asked him [*What shall we do to work the works of God? Jesus said, This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.**] Faith is not only the foundation of good works, but itself is a good work, it is not only the cause of obedience, but a part of it; it is not only as the son of *Sirach* calls it, *initium adhærendi Deo*, a beginning of cleaving unto God, but it carries us on to the perfection of it. Christ is the author and finisher of our faith, and when faith is finished, a good life is made perfect in our kind. Let no man therefore expect events for which he hath no promise, nor call for God's fidelity without his own faithfulness, nor snatch at a promise without performing the condition; nor think faith to be a hand to apprehend Christ, and to do nothing else; for that will but deceive us, and turn religion into words, and holiness into hypocrisy, and the promises of God into a snare, and the truth of God into a lie. For when God made a covenant of faith, he made also the νόμῳ πίστεως, the law of faith; and when he admitted us to a covenant of more mercy than was in the covenant of works, or of the law, he did not admit us to a covenant of idleness, and an incurious walking in a state of disobedience, but the mercy of God leadeth us to repentance, and when he gives us better promises, he intends we should pay him a better obedience: when he forgives us what is past, he intends we should sin no more: when he offers us his graces, he would have us to make use of them; when he causes us to distrust

* John vi. 28, 29.

ourselves,

ourselves, his meaning is we should rely upon him; when he enables us to do what he commands us, he commands us to do all that we can And therefore this covenant of faith and mercy is also a covenant of holiness, and the grace that pardons us does also purify us; for so saith the apostle, *He that hath this hope purifies himself even as God is pure.* And when we are so, then we are justified indeed; this is the νόμ@ πίστεως, the law of faith; and by works in this sense, that is by the works of faith, by faith working by love, and producing fruits worthy of amendment of life, we are justified before God. And so I have done with the affirmative proposition of my text; you see that a man is justified by works.

But there is more in it than this matter yet amounts to: for St. *James* does not say, we are justified by works, and are not justified by faith; that had been irreconcileable with St. *Paul;* but we are so justified by works, that it is not by faith alone, it is faith and works together: that is it is by the ὑπακοὴ πίστεως by the obedience of faith, by the works of faith, by the law of faith; by righteousness evangelical, by the conditions of the Gospel and the measures of Christ. I have many things to say in this particular; but because I have but a little time left to say them in, I will sum it all up in this proposition, that in the question of justification and salvation, faith and good works are no part of a distinction, but members of one entire body. Faith and good works together work the righteousness of God: That is, that I may speak plainly, justifying faith contains in it obedience; and if this be made good, then the two apostles are reconciled to each other, and both of them to the necessity, the indispensible necessity of a good life.

Now that justifying and saving faith must be defined by something more than an act of understanding, appears not only in this, that St. *Peter* reckons faith as distinctly from knowledge, as he does from patience, or strength, or brotherly kindness; saying [*Add to your*

your faith virtue, to virtue knowledge *] but in this also; because an error in life, and whatsoever is against holiness, is against faith: and therefore St. *Paul* reckons the lawless and the disobedient, murderers of parents, man-stealing, and such things to be against sound doctrines; for the doctrine of faith is called ἡ καθ' εὐσέβειαν διδασκαλία, the doctrine that is according to godliness. And when St. *Paul* † prays against ungodly men, he adds this reason, οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡ πίστις, for all men have not faith: meaning that wicked men are infidels and unbelievers, and particularly he affirms of him *that does not provide for his own, that he hath denied the faith.*‡ Now from hence it follows that faith is godliness, because all wickedness is infidelity; it is an apostacy from the faith. *Ille erit, ille nocens qui me tibi fecerat hostem;* he that sins against God, he is the enemy to the faith of Jesus Christ, and therefore we deceive ourselves if we place faith in the understanding only; it is not that, and it does not dwell there, but ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει, saith the apostle, the mystery of faith is kept no where, it dwells no where but in a pure conscience.

For I consider that since all moral habits are best defined by their operation, we can best understand what faith is by seeing what it does. To this purpose hear St. *Paul: By faith* Abel *offered up to God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain. By faith* Noah *made an ark. By faith* Abraham *left his country and offered up his son. By faith* Moses *chose to suffer affliction, and accounted the reproach of Christ greater than all the riches of* Egypt. In short, the children of God *by faith subdued kingdoms, and wrought righteousness:* § To work righteousness is as much the duty and work of faith as believing is. So that now we may quickly make an end of this great inquiry, whether a man is justified by faith, or by works, for he is so by both;

* 2 Pet. i. 5. † 2 Thes. iii. 2. ‡ 1 Tim. v. 8.
§ Heb. xi.

if

if you take it alone, faith does not justify, but take it in the aggregate sense as it is used in the question of justification by St. *Paul*, and then faith does not only justify, but it sanctifies too; and then you need to inquire no further; obedience is a part of the definition of faith, as much as it is of charity: this is love, saith St. *John, that we keep his commandments.* And the very same is affirmed of faith too by *Bensirach, He that believeth the Lord will keep his commandments.**

I have now done with all the propositions expressed and implied in the text; give me leave to make some practical considerations, and so I shall dismiss you from this attention.

The rise I take from the words of St. *Epiphanius*, † speaking in praise of the apostolical and purest ages of the church: there was at first no distinction of sects and opinions in the church; she knew no difference of of men, but good and bad; there was no separation made, but what was made by piety or impiety, or (says he) which is all one, by fidelity and infidelity: πίστις μὲν ἐπέχουσα τῇ χριστιανισμῷ εἰκόνα· ἀπιστία δὲ ἐπέχουσα ἀσεβείας τὸν χαρακτῆρα καὶ παρανομίας. For faith hath in it the image of godliness engraven, and infidelity hath the character of wickedness and prevarication. A man was not then esteemed a saint for disobeying his bishop or an apostle, nor for misunderstanding the hard sayings of St. *Paul* about predestination; to kick against the laudable customs of the church was not then accounted a note of the godly party: and to despise government was but an ill mark, and weak indication of being a good Christian. The kingdom of God did not then consist in words, but in power, the power of godliness; though now we are fallen into another method; we have turned all religion into faith, and our faith is nothing but the productions of interest or disputing; it is adhering to a party, and a wrangling

* Ecclus. xxxii. 24. † Panar. lib. i. edit. Basil, p. 8. l. 46.

against

against all the world beside; and when it is asked of what religion he is of, we understand the meaning to be, what faction does he follow: what are the articles of his sect, not what is the manner of his life; and if men be zealous for their party and that interest, then they are precious men, though otherwise they be covetous as the grave, factious as *Dathan*, schismatical as *Corah*, or proud as the fallen angels. Alas! these things will but deceive us, the faith of a Christian cannot consist in strifes about words, and perverse disputings of men: these things the apostle calls *profane and vain babblings;** and mark what he says of them, these things will encrease ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀσεβείας πλεῖον ἀσέβειαν· They are in themselves ungodliness, and will produce more; they will increase unto more ungodliness; but the faith of a Christian had other measures; that was faith then which made men faithful to their vows in baptism. The faith of a Christian was the best security in contracts, and a Christian's word was as good as his bond, because he was faithful that promised, and a Christian would rather die than break his word; and was always true to his trust; he was faithful to his friend, and loved as *Jonathan* did *David*. This was the Christian faith then: their religion was to hurt no man, and to do good to every man, and so it ought to be: *True religion is to visit the fatherless and widow, and to keep ourselves unspotted of the world.* That is a good religion that is *pure and undefiled:* so St. *James*, and St. *Chrysostom* defines εὐσέβειαν, true religion to be πίστιν καθαρὰν καὶ ὀρθὸν βίον, a pure faith and a godly life, for they make up the whole mystery of godliness; and no man could then pretend to faith, but he that did do valiantly, and suffer patiently, and resist the devil, and overcome the world. These things are as properly the actions of faith, as alms is of charity, and therefore they must enter into the moral definition of

* 2 Tim. ii. 16.

it;

it; and this was truly understood by *Salvian*, that wise and godly priest of *Massilia*. What is faith, and what is believing (saith he) *hominem fideliter Christo credere est fidelem Deo esse*, h. e. *fideliter Dei mandata servare*. That man does faithfully believe in Christ who is faithful unto God, who faithfully keeps God's commandments; and therefore let us measure our faith here by our faithfulness to God, and by our diligence to do our master's commandments; for *Christianorum omnis religio sine scelere & maculâ vivere*, said *Lactantius**, the whole religion of a Christian is to live unblameably; that is, in all holiness and purity of conversation.

2. When our faith is spoken of as the great instrument of justification and salvation, take *Abraham*'s faith as your best pattern, and that will end the dispute, because that he was justified by faith when his faith was mighty in effect; when he trusted in God, when he believed the promises, when he expected a resurrection of the dead, when he was strong in faith, when he gave glory to God, when against hope he believed in hope; and when all this past into an act of a most glorious obedience, even denying his greatest desires, contradicting his most passionate affections, offering to God the best thing he had, and exposing to death his beloved *Isaac*, his laughters, all his joy at the command of God. By this faith he was justified, saith St. *Paul; by these works he was justified*, saith St. *James;* that is, by this faith working this obedience. And then all the difficulty is over; only remember this, your faith is weak and will do but little for you, if it be not stronger then all your secular desires and all your peevish angers. Thus we find in the holy Gospels, this conjunction declared necessary, *Whatsoever things ye desire, when ye pray, believe that ye receive them, and ye shall have them*†. Here is as glorious an event promised to faith as can be expressed, faith shall obtain any thing of God. True;

* Instit. l. v. c. 9. † Mark xii. 24.

but

but it is not faith alone, but faith in prayer; faith praying, not faith simply believing. So St. *James;* the *prayer of faith shall save the sick;* but adds, it must be the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man: so that faith shall prevail, but there must be prayer in faith, and fervour in prayer, and devotion in fervour, and righteousness in devotion, and then impute the effect to faith if you please, provided that it be declared, that effect cannot be wrought by faith unless it be so qualified. But Christ adds one thing more; *When ye stand praying, forgive; but if ye will not forgive, neither will your Father forgive you.* So that it will be to no purpose to say a man is justified by faith, unless you mingle charity with it; for without the charity of forgiveness, there can be no pardon; and then justification is but a word, when it effects nothing.

3. Let every one take heed that by an importune adhering to and relying upon a mistaken faith, he do not really make a shipwreck of a right faith. *Hymenæus* and *Alexander* lost their faith by putting away a good conscience; and what matter is it of what religion or faith a man be of, if he be a villain and a cheat, a man of no truth, and of no trust, a lover of the world, and not a lover of God? But I pray consider, can any man have faith that denies God? That is not possible; and cannot a man as well deny God by an evil action, as by an heretical proposition? Cannot a man deny God by works as much as by words? Hear what the apostle says, *They profess that they know God, but in works they deny him, being abominable and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate.** Disobedience is a denying God. *Nolumus hunc regnare,* is as plain a renouncing of Christ, as *nolumus huic credere.* It is to no purpose to say we believe in Christ and have faith, unless Christ reign in our hearts by faith.

* Tit. i. 16.

4. From

4. From these premises we may see but too evidently, that though a great part of mankind pretend to be saved by faith, yet they know not what it is, or else wilfully mistake it, and place their hopes upon sand, or the more unstable water. Believing is the least thing in a justifying faith; for faith is a conjugation of many ingredients, and faith is a covenant, and faith is a law, and faith is obedience, and faith is a work, and indeed it is a sincere cleaving to, and closing with the terms of the Gospel in every instance, in every particular. Alas! the niceties of a spruce understanding, and the curious nothings of useless speculation, and all the opinions of men that make the divisions of heart, and do nothing else, cannot bring us one drop of comfort in the day of tribulation, and therefore are no parts of the strength of faith: nay, when a man begins truly to fear God, and is in the agonies of mortification, all these new-nothings and curiosities will lie neglected by, as baubles do by children when they are deadly sick; but that only is faith that makes us to love God, to do his will, to suffer his impositions, to trust his promises, to see through a cloud, to overcome the world, to resist the devil, to stand in the day of trial, and to be comforted in all our sorrows. "This is that precious "faith so mainly necessary to be insisted on, that by "it we may be the sons of the free woman *liberi à vi-*"*tiis ac ritibus*, that the true *Isaac* may be in us, "which is Christ according to the spirit, the wisdom "and power of God, a divine vigour and life, "whereby we are enabled with joy and cheerfulness "to walk in the way of God". By this you may try your faith, if you please, and make an end of this question. Do you believe in the Lord Jesus, yea or no? God forbid else, but if your faith be good it will abide the trial. There are but three things that make the integrity of Christian faith; believing the words of God, confidence in his goodness, and keeping his commandments.

For

For the first, it is evident that every man pretends to it; if he calls himself Christian, he believes all that is in the canon of the Scriptures; and if he did not, he were indeed no Christian. But now consider, what think we of this proposition? *All shall be damned who believe not the truth, but have pleasure in unrighteousness.** Does not every man believe this? Is it possible they can believe there is any such thing as unrighteousness in the world, or any such thing as damnation, and yet commit that which the Scriptures call unrighteousness, and which all laws, and all good men say is so? Consider how many unrighteous men there are in the world, and yet how few of them think they shall be damned. I know not how it comes to pass, but men go upon strange principles, and they have made Christianity to be a very odd institution, if it had not better measures than they are pleased to afford it. There are two great roots of all evil, covetousness and pride, and they have infected the greatest parts of mankind, and yet no man thinks himself to be either covetous or proud: and therefore whatever you discourse against these sins, it never hits any man, but like *Jonathan*'s arrows to *David*, they fall short or they fly beyond. *Salvian* complained of it in his time, *Hoc ad crimina nostra addimus, ut cum in omnibus rei simus, etiam bonos nos & sanctos esse credamus,*† this we add unto our crimes, we are the vilest persons in the world, and yet we think ourselves to be good people, and when we die make no question but we shall go to heaven. There is no cause of this, but because we have not so much faith as believing comes to, and yet most men will pretend not only to believe, but to love Christ all this while; and how do they prove this? Truly they hate the memory of *Judas*, and curse the

* 2 Thes. ii. 12. † Lib. iii.

Jews

Jews that crucified Christ, and think *Pilate* a very miserable man, and that all the Turks are damned; and to be called *Caiphas* is a word of reproach; and indeed there are many that do not much more for Christ than this comes to; things to as little purpose, and of as little signification. But so the Jews did hate the memory of *Corah*, as we do of *Caiphas*, and they builded the sepulchre of the prophets; and we also are angry at them that killed the apostles and the martyrs, but in the mean time we neither love Christ nor his saints; for we neither obey him, nor imitate them; and yet we should think ourselves highly injured if one should call us infidels, and haters of Christ. But I pray consider, what is hating of any man, but designing and doing him all the injury and spite we can? Does not he hate Christ that dishonours him, that makes Christ's members the members of an harlot? That doth not feed and clothe these members? If the Jews did hate Christ when they crucified him, then so does a Christian too when he crucifies him again. Let us not deceive ourselves, a Christian may be damned as well as a Turk; and Christians may with as much malice crucify Christ as the Jews did; and so does every man that sins wilfully, he spills the blood of Christ, making it to be spent in vain. *He that hateth you, hateth me, he that receives you receives me*, said Christ to his apostles. I wish the world had so much faith as to believe that; and by this try whether we love Christ, and believe in him or no. I shall for the trial of our faith ask one easy question; Do we believe that the story of *David* and *Jonathan* is true? Have we so much faith as to think it possible that two rivals of a crown should love so dearly? Can any man believe this, and not be infinitely ashamed to see Christians (almost all Christians) to be irreconcileably angry, and ready to pull their brother's heart out, when he offers to take our land or money from us? Why do almost all men that go to law

law for right hate one another's persons? Why cannot men with patience hear their titles questioned? But if Christianity be so excellent a religion, why are so very many Christians so very wicked? Certainly they do not so much as believe the propositions and principles of their own religion. For the body of Christians is so universally wicked, that it would be a greater change to see Christians generally live according to their profession, than it was at first from infidelity to see them to turn believers. The conversion from Christian to Christian, from Christian in title to Christian in sincerity, would be a greater miracle than it was when they were converted from Heathen and Jew to Christian. What is the matter? Is not *repentance from dead works* reckoned by St. *Paul* in *Heb.* vi. as one of the fundamental points of Christian Religion? Is it not a piece of our Catechism, the first thing we are taught, and is it not the last thing that we practise? We had better be without baptism than without repentance, and yet both are necessary; and therefore if we were not without faith, we should be without neither. Is not repentance a forsaking all sin, and an entire returning unto God? Who can deny this? And is it not plainly said in Scripture, *Unless ye repent ye shall all perish?* But shew me the man that believes these things heartily; that is, shew me a true penitent; he only believes the doctrines of repentance.

If I had time I should examine your faith by your confidence in God, and by your obedience. But if we fail in the mere believing, it is not likely we should do better in the other. But because all the promises of God are conditional, and there can be no confidence in the particular without a promise or revelation, it is not possible that any man that does not live well should reasonably put his trust in God. To live a wicked life, and then to be confident that in the day of our death God will give us pardon, is not faith, but a direct want

of faith. If we did believe the promises upon their proper conditions, or believe that God's commandments were righteous and true, or that the threatenings were as really intended as they are terribly spoken, we should not dare to live at the rate we do; But *wicked men have not faith,* saith St. *Paul,* and then the wonder ceases.

But there are such palpable contradictions between men's practices and the fundamentals of our faith, that it was a material consideration of our Blessed Saviour, *When the Son of Man comes shall he find faith upon earth?* Meaning it should be very hard and scant; *every man shall boast of his own goodness; sed virum fidelem,* (saith *Solomon*) *but a faithful man who can find?* Some men are very good when they are afflicted.

Hanc sibi virtutem fractâ facit urceus ansâ
Et tristis nullo qui tepet igne focus;
Et teges & cimex, & nudi sponda grabati,
Fit brevis atque eadem nocte dieque toga.

When the gown of the day is the mantle of the night, and cannot at the same time cover the head, and make the feet warm; when they have but one broken dish and no spoon, then they are humble and modest; then they can suffer an injury, and bear contempt; but give them riches and they grow insolent; fear and pusillanimity did their first work, and an opportunity to sin undoes it all. *Bonum militem perdidisti, Imperatorum pessimum creasti,* said *Galba,* you have spoiled a good trooper when you made me a bad commander. Others can never serve God but when they are prosperous; if they lose their fortune they lose their faith, and quit their charity: *Non rata fides ubi jam melior fortuna ruit;* if they become poor, they become liars and deceivers of their trust, envious and greedy, restless and uncharitable; that is,

one

one way or other they shew that they love the world, and by all the faith they pretend to cannot overcome it.

Cast up therefore your reckonings impartially; see what is, what will be required at your hands; do not think you can be justified by faith, unless your faith be greater than all your passions; you have not the learning, not so much as the common notices of faith, unless you can tell when you are covetous, and reprove yourself when you are proud; but he that is so, and knows it not (and that is the case of most men) hath no faith, and neither knows God, nor knows himself.

To conclude. He that hath true justifying faith, believes the power of God to be above the powers of nature; the goodness of God above the merit and disposition of our persons, the bounty of God above the excellency of our works, the truth of God above the contradiction of weak arguings and fears, the love of God above our cold experience and ineffectual reason, and the necessities of doing good works above the faint excuses and ignorant pretences of disputing sinners: but want of faith makes us so generally wicked as we are, so often running to despair; so often baffled in our resolutions of a good life: but he whose faith makes him more than conqueror over these difficulties, to him *Isaac* shall be born even in his old age; the life of God shall be perfectly wrought in him, and by this faith so operative, so strong, so lasting, so obedient, he shall be justified, and he shall be saved.

A

SERMON

PREACHED AT

THE CONSECRATION

OF

TWO ARCHBISHOPS AND TEN BISHOPS,

IN THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. PATRICK, DUBLIN.

JANUARY 27, 1660.

Sal liquefit, ut condiat.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

MY obedience to the commands of the Right Honourable the Lord Justices, and the most Reverend and Learned Primate, and to the desires of my Reverend Brethren, put it past my inquiry, whether I ought to publish this following Sermon. I will not therefore excuse it, and say it might have advantages in the delivery, which it would want in the reading; and the ear would be kind to the piety of it, which was apparent in the design, when the eye would be severe in its censure of those arguments, which as they could not be longer in that measure of time, so would have appeared more firm, if they could have had liberty to have been pursued to their utmost issue. But reason lies in a little room, and obedience in less; and although what I have here said, may not stop the mouths of men resolved to keep up a faction, yet I have said enough to the sober and pious, to them who love order, and hearken to the voice of the spouse of Christ, to the loving and to the obedient: and for those that are not so, I have no argument fit to be used, but prayer, and readiness to give them a reason when they shall modestly demand it. In the mean time I shall only desire them to make use of those truths

truths which the more learned of their party have, by the evidence of fact, been forced to confess. *Rivet* affirms that it descended *ex veteris ævis reliquiis*, that Presbyters should be assistants or conjoined to the Bishops (who is by this confessed to be the principal) in the imposition of hands for ordination. *Walo Messalinus* acknowledges it to be *rem antiquissimam*, a most ancient thing, that these two orders (*viz.*) of Bishops and Presbyters, should be distinct, even in the middle, or in the beginning of the next age after Christ. *Dd. Blondel* places it to be 35 years after the death of St. *John*. Now then episcopacy is confessed to be of about 1600 years continuance? and if before this they can shew any ordination by mere Presbyters, by any but an Apostle, or an apostolical man; and if there were not visibly a distinction of powers and persons relatively in the ecclesiastical government; or if they can give a rational account why they who are forced to confess the honour and distinct order of episcopacy for about 16 ages, should in the dark interval of 35 years (in which they can pretend to no monument or record to the contrary) yet make unlearned scruples of things they cannot colourably prove: if (I say) they can reasonably account for these things, I, for my part, will be ready to confess, that they are not guilty of the greatest, the most unreasonable and inexcusable schism in the world; but else they have no colour to palliate the unlearned crime? For will not all wise men in the world conclude, that the Church of God, which was then holy, not in title only and design, but practically and materially; and persecuted, and not immerged in secular temptations, could not all in one instant join together to alter that form of church government, which Christ and his Apostles had so recently established, and without a divine warrant destroy a divine institution, not only to the confusion of the hierarchy, but to the ruin of their own souls? It were strange that so great a change should be, and no good man oppose it: *In toto orbe decretum est*; so St. *Hierom*: all the world consented in the advancement of the episcopal order: and therefore if we had no more to say for it, yet in prudence and piety we cannot say they would innovate in so great a matter.

But I shall enter no further upon this inquiry; only I remember that it is not very many months since the bigots of the Popish party cried out against us vehemently, and inquired, Where is your Church of England, since you have no unity? for your ecclesiastic head of unity, your Bishops are gone. And if we should be desirous to verify their argument,

gument, so as indeed to destroy episcopacy, we should too much advantage popery, and do the most imprudent and most impious thing in the world. But blessed be God who hath restored that government, for which our late King of glorious memory gave his blood. And that (methinks) should very much weigh with all the King's true-hearted subjects, who should make it religion not to rob that glorious Prince of the greatest honour of such a martyrdom. For my part, I think it fit to rest in these words of another martyr, St. *Cyprian, Si quis cum episcopo non sit, in ecclesia non esse*:* He that is not with the Bishop is not in the Church; that is, he that goes away from him, and willingly separates, departs from God's Church: and whether he can then be with God, is a very material consideration, and fit to be thought on by all that think Heaven a more eligible good than the interests of a faction, and the importune desire of rule can countervail.

However, I have in the following papers spoken a few things, which I hope may be fit to persuade them that are not infinitely prejudiced: and although two or three good arguments are as good as two or three hundred, yet my purpose here was to prove the dignity and necessity of the office and order episcopal, only that it might be as an economy to convey notice, and remembrances of the great duty incumbent upon all them that undertake this great charge. The dignity and the duty take one another by the hand, and are born together: only every sheep of the flock must take care to make the Bishop's duty as easy as it can, by humility and love, by prayer and by obedience. It is at the best very difficult, but they who oppose themselves to government, make it harder and uncomfortable. But take heed, if thy Bishop hath cause to complain to God of thee for thy perverseness and uncharitable walking, thou wilt be the loser; and for us we can only say, in the words of the prophet, *We will weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people.*† But our comfort is in God: for *we can do nothing without him*, but in him *we can do all things*. And therefore we will pray, *Domine dabis pacem nobis, omnia enim opera nostra operatus es in nobis*:‡ God hath wrought all our works within us; and therefore he will give us peace, and give us his Spirit.

Finally, Brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free course, and be glorified even as it is with you: and that we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men, for all men have not faith§.

* Ep. 69. † Jerem. ix. 1. ‡ Esa. xxvi. 12. § 2 Thes. iii. 1.

SERMON IV.

A

CONSECRATION SERMON,

PREACHED AT

DUBLIN.

LUKE xii. 42. 43.

And the Lord said, Who then is that faithful and wise Steward, whom his Lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season.

Blessed is that Servant whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing.

Τίς ἐστιν ἄρα πιστὸς; καὶ φρόνιμος οἰκονόμος.

THESE words are not properly a question, though they seem so, and the particle τὶς is not interrogative, but hypothetical, and extends *who* to *whosoever*; plainly meaning that whoever is a steward over Christ's household, of him God requires a great care, because he hath trusted him with a great employment. Every steward ὃν κατέστηκεν ὁ Κύριος, so it is in St. *Matthew*,* ὃν κατασήσει ὁ Κύριος, so it is in my text; every steward whom the Lord *hath or shall* appoint over the family, to rule it and to feed it, now and in all generations of men, as long as this family shall abide on earth; that is, the apostles, and they who

* Cap. xxiv. 45.

were

were to succeed the apostles in the stewardship, were to be furnished with the same power, and to undertake the same charge, and to give the same strict and severe accounts.

In these words here is something insinuated, and much expressed.

I. That which is insinuated only is, who these stewards are, whom Christ had, whom Christ would appoint over his family the Church; they are not here named, but we shall find them out by their proper direction and indigitation by and by.

II. But that which is expressed, is the office itself, in a double capacity. 1. In the dignity of it, it is a rule and a government: [*whom the Lord shall make ruler over his household.*] 2. In the care and duty of it, which determines the government to be paternal and profitable; it is a rule, but such a rule as shepherds have over their flocks, to lead them to good pastures, and to keep them within their appointed walks, and within their folds: διδόναι σιτομέτριον: that is the work, *to give them a measure and proportion of nourishment:* τροφὴν ἐν καιρῷ, so St. *Matthew* calls it: *meat in the season;* that which is fit for them, and when it is fit; meat enough, and meat convenient; and both together mean that which the Greek poets call ἀρμαλίην ἔμμηνον, the strong wholesome diet.

III. Lastly, here is the reward of the faithful and wise dispensation. The steward that does so, and continues to do so, till his Lord find him so doing, this man shall be blessed in his deed. [*Blessed is the servant whom his Lord when he cometh shall find so doing.*] Of these in order.

1. Who are these rulers of Christ's family: for though Christ knew it, and therefore needed not to ask; yet we have disputed it so much and obeyed so little, that we have changed the plain hypothesis into an entangled question. The answer yet is easy as to some part of the inquiry: the apostles are the first meaning of the text: for they were our fathers in Christ, they begat

sons

sons and daughters unto God; and where a spiritual paternity is evident, we need look no further for spiritual government, because in the paternal rule all power is founded; they begat the family by the power of the Word and the life of the Spirit, and they fed this family, and ruled it by the word of their proper ministry: They had the keys of this house, the stewards ensign, and they had the rulers place; for they sat on twelve thrones and judged the twelve tribes of *Israel.* But of this there is no question.

And as little of another proposition; that this stewardship was to last for ever, for the power of ministering in this office and the office itself were to be perpetual: for the issues and powers of government are more necessary for the perpetuating the church, than for the first planting; and if it was necessary that the apostles should have a rod and a staff at first, it would be more necessary afterwards, when the family was more numerous, and their first zeal abated, and their native simplicity perverted into arts of hypocrisy and forms of godliness, when *heresies should arise, and the love of many should wax cold.* The apostles had also a power of ordination; and that the very power itself does denote, for it makes perpetuity, that could not expire in the days of the apostles; for by it they themselves propagated a succession. And Christ having promised his Spirit to abide with his Church for ever, and made his apostles the channels, the ministers and conveyances of it, that it might descend as the inheritance and eternal portion of the family; it cannot be imagined that when the first ministers were gone, there should not others rise up in the same places, some like to the first, in the same office and ministry of the spirit. But the thing is plain and evident in the matter of fact also: *Quod in Ecclesiâ nunc geritur, hoc olim fecerunt apostoli,* said St. *Cyprian;** What the apostles did at first, that the Church does to this day, and shall do for ever: for

* Epist. 73. ad Jubai.

when

when St. *Paul* had given to the Bishop of *Ephesus* rules of government in this family, he commands that they should be *observed till the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ:** and therefore these authorities and charges are given to him and his successors; it is the observation of St. *Ambrose* upon the warranty of that text, and is obvious and undeniable.

Well then, the apostles were the first stewards; and this office dies not with them, but must for ever be succeeded in; and now begins the inquiry, who are the successors of the apostles: for they are, they must evidently be, the stewards to feed and to rule this family. There are some that say that all who have any portion of work in the family, all the ministers of the gospel are these stewards, and so all will be rulers.—The presbyters surely; for say they, presbyter and bishop is the same thing, and have the same name in Scripture, and therefore the office cannot be distinguished. To this I shall very briefly say two things, which will quickly clear our way through this bush of thorns.

1. That the word *Presbyter* is but an honourable appellative used amongst the Jews, as *Alderman* amongst us; but it signifies no order at all, nor was ever used in Scripture to signify any distinct company or order of clergy: and this appears not only by an induction in all the enumerations of the offices ministerial in the New Testament,† where to be a presbyter is never reckoned either as a distinct office, or a distinct order; but by its being indifferently communicated to all the superior clergy, and all the princes of the people.

2. The second thing I intended to say is this, that although the superior clergy had not only one, but divers common appellatives, all being called πρεσβύτεροι and διάκονοι, even the apostolate itself being called

* 1 Tim. vi. 14.

† Rom. xii. 6; Eph. iv. 11; 1 Cor. xii. 28.

a dea-

a deaconship*; yet it is evident that before the common appellations were fixed into names of propriety, they were as evidently distinguished in their offices and powers, as they are at this day in their names and titles.

To this purpose St. *Paul* gave to *Titus* the bishop of *Crete* a special commission, command and power to make ordinations; and in him, and the person of *Timothy* he did erect a court of judicature even over some of the clergy, who yet were called presbyters; *against a presbyter receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses*†: there is the measure and the warranty of the *Audientia Episcopalis*, the Bishop's Audience Court; and when the accused were found guilty, he gives in charge to proceed to censures; ἔλεγχε ἀποτόμως & δει ἐπισομίζειν· *You must rebuke them sharply, and you must silence them, stop their mouths,*‡ that is St. *Paul's* word; that they may no more scatter their venom in the ears and hearts of the people. These bishops were commanded *to set in order things that were wanting* in the churches, the same with that power of St. *Paul*, [*other things will I set in order when I come*] said he to the Corinthian churches; in which there were many who were called presbyters, who nevertheless for all that name, had not that power. To the same purpose it is plain in Scripture, that *some would have been apostles that were not;* such were those whom the spirit of God notes in the Revelation; § and some did *love pre-eminence* that had it not, for so did *Diotrephes;* and some were judges of questions, and all were not, for therefore they appealed to the apostles at *Jerusalem;* and St. *Philip*, though he was an evangelist, yet he could not give confirmation to the Samaritans whom he had baptized, but the apostles were sent for, for that was part of the power reserved to the episcopal or apostolic order.

* Acts. i. 25. † 1 Tim. v. 19.
‡ Tit. i. 11. & ii. 15. § Cap. ii. v. 2.

Now

Now from these premises the conclusion is plain and easy. 1. Christ left a government in his church, and founded it in the persons of the apostles. 2. The apostles received this power for the perpetual use and benefit, for the comfort and edification of the church for ever. 3. The apostles had this government, but all that were taken into the ministry, and all that were called presbyters had it not. If therefore this government, in which there is so much disparity in the very nature and exercise and first original of it, must abide for ever; then so must that disparity. If the apostolate in the first stabiliment was this eminency of power, then it must be so; that is, it must be the same in the succession, that it was in the foundation. For after the church is founded upon its governors, we are to expect no change of government. If Christ was the author of it, then as Christ left it, so it must abide for ever: for ever there must be the governing and the governed, the superior and the subordinate, the ordainer and the ordained, the confirmer and the confirmed.

Thus far the way is strait, and the path is plain. The apostles were the stewards and the ordinary rulers of Christ's family, by virtue of the order and office apostolical; and although this be succeeded to for ever, yet no man for his now, or at any time being called a presbyter or elder can pretend to it; for besides his being a presbyter, he must be an apostle too; else, though he be called *in partem sollicitudinis*, and may do the office of assistance and under-stewardship, yet the κῦρος, the government and rule of the family belongs not to him.

But then τίς ἄρα καὶ σήμερον, who are these stewards and rulers over the household now? To this the answer is also certain and easy. Christ hath made the same governors to day as heretofore; *Apostles still.* For though the twelve apostles are dead, yet the apostolical order is not; it is τάξις γεννητικὴ, *a generative order*, and begets more apostles. Now who these *minores*

apostoli

apostoli are, the successors of the apostles in that office apostolical and supreme regimen of souls, we are sufficiently taught in Holy Scriptures, which when I have clearly shewn to you, I shall pass on to some more practical considerations.

1. Therefore, certain and known it is, that Christ appointed two sorts of ecclesiastic persons; Twelve Apostles, and the Seventy-two Disciples; to these he gave a limited commission; to those a fulness of power; to these a temporary employment; to those a perpetual and everlasting: from these two societies founded by Christ, the whole Church of God derives the two superior orders in the sacred hierarchy; and as bishops do not claim a divine right but by succession from the apostles; so the presbyters cannot pretend to have been instituted by Christ, but by claiming a succession to the Seventy-two. And then consider the difference, compare the tables, and all the world will see the advantages of argument we have; for since the Seventy-two had nothing but a mission on a temporary errand; and more than that, we hear nothing of them in Scripture; but upon the apostles Christ poured all the ecclesiastical power, and made them the ordinary ministers of that spirit which was to abide with the church for ever; the divine institution of the bishops, that is, of successors to the apostles, is much more clear than that Christ appointed presbyters, or successors of the Seventy-two. And yet if from hence they do not derive it, they can never prove their order to be of divine institution at all, much less to be so alone.

But we may see the very thing itself; the very matter of fact. St. *James* the bishop of *Jerusalem*, is by St. *Paul* called an apostle; *other apostles saw I none, save* James *the Lord's brother.** For there were some whom the Scriptures call *the apostles of our Lord;*

* Gal. i. 19.

that

that is, such which Christ made by his word immediately, or by his spirit extraordinarily; and even into this number and title, *Matthias* and St. *Paul*, and *Barnabas* were accounted. * But the church also made apostles; and these were called by St. *Paul*, ἀποστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, *Apostles of the Churches*, and particularly *Epaphroditus* was the *Apostle of the Philippians;* properly so (saith *Primasius,*) and what is this else but the bishop, saith *Theodoret*; for τὲς νυν καλεμενες ἐπισκόπες ὠνόμαζον ἀποστόλες, those who are now called bishops were then called apostles, saith the same Father. The sense and full meaning of which argument is a perfect commentary upon that famous prophecy of the church, [*Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children whom thou mayest make princes in all lands;* †] that is, not only the twelve apostles our fathers in Christ, who first begat us, were to rule Christ's family, but when they were gone, their children and successors should arise in their stead: *Et nati natorum, & que nascentur ab illis*, their direct successors to all generations shall be *principes populi*, that is, rulers and governors of the whole catholic church. *De prole enim ecclesiæ crevit eidem pateritas*, id est, *episcopi quos illa genuit, & patres appellat, & constituit in sedibus patrum*, saith St. *Austin;* the children of the church become fathers of the faithful; that is, the church begets bishops, and places them in the seat of fathers, the first apostles.

After these plain and evident testimonies of Scripture, it will not be amiss to say, that this great affair, relying not only upon the words of institution, but on matter of fact, passed forth into a demonstration and greatest notoriety by the doctrine and practice of the whole catholic church: for so St. *Irenæus*, who was one of the

* 2 Cor. viii. 23; Philip. ii. 25. † Psalm xlv. 16.

most

most ancient fathers of the church, and might easily make good his affirmative; *We can* (says he) *reckon the men who by the apostles were appointed bishops in churches, to be their succe sors unto us; leaving to them the same power and authority which they had.* Thus St. *Polycarp* was by the apostles made bishop of *Smyrna;* St. *Clement* bishop of *Rome* by St. *Peter; and divers others by the apostles,* saith *Tertullian;* saying also that the Asian bishops were consecrated by St. *John.* And to be short, that bishops are the successors of the apostles in the stewardship and rule of the church, is expressly taught by St. *Cyprian,* and St. *Hierom,** St. *Ambrose,* and St. *Austin,* by *Euthymius,* and *Pacianus,* by St. *Gregory,* and St. *John Damascen,* by *Clarius à Muscula,* and St. *Sixtus,* by *Anacletus,* and St. *Isidore;* by the Roman Council under St. *Sylvester,* and the Council of *Carthage:* and the διαδοχὴ, or succession of bishops from the apostles hands in all the churches apostolical was as certainly known, as in our chronicles we find the succession of our English kings, and one can no more be denied than the other. The conclusion from these premises I give you in the words of St. *Cyprian; Cogitent Diaconi quod Apostolos,* id est, *Episcopos Dominus ipse elegerit* †, Let the ministers know that apostles, that is, the bishops were chosen by our blessed Lord himself: and this was so evident, and so believed, that St. *Austin* affirms it with a *nemo ignorat,* ‡ no man is so ignorant but he knows this, that our blessed Saviour appointed bishops over churches.

Indeed the Gnostics spake evil of this order; for they are noted by three apostles, St. *Paul,* St. *Peter,* and St. *Jude,* to be despisers of government, and to speak evil of dignities; and what government it was they did so despise, we may understand by the words

* In 1 Cor xii.; in Psalm xliv.; Epist. i. Simpronianum.
† Epist. lxvi. ad Rogat. ‡ Quast. V. and N. T. q. 179.

of

of St. *Jude*, they were ἐν ἀντιλογίᾳ Κορὲ, in the contradiction or gainsaying of *Corah*, who with his company rose up against *Aaron*, the high priest; and excepting these who were the vilest of men, no man within the first three hundred years after Christ, opposed episcopacy. But when *Constantine* received the church into his arms, he found it universally governed by bishops; and therefore no wise or good man professing to be a Christian, that is, to believe the Holy Catholic Church, can be content to quit the apostolical government (that by which the whole family of God was fed, and taught, and ruled) and beget to himself new fathers and new apostles, who by wanting succession from the apostles of our Lord, have no ecclesiastical and derivative communion with these fountains of our Saviour.

If ever *Vincentius Lirinensis*'s rule could be used in any question, it is in this: *Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*; That bishops are the successors of the apostles in this stewardship, and that they did always rule the family, was taught and acknowledged always, and every where, and by all men that were of the Church of God: and if these evidences be not sufficient to convince modest and sober persons in this question, we shall find our faith to fail in many other articles, of which we yet are very confident: for the observation of the Lord's day, the consecration of the holy eucharist by priests, the baptising infants, the communicating of women, and the very Canon of the Scripture itself rely but upon the same probation; and therefore the denying of articles thus proved is a way (I do not say) to bring in all sects and heresies (that is but little) but a plain path and inlet to atheism and irreligion; for by this means it will not only be impossible to agree concerning the meaning of Scripture, but the Scripture itself, and all the records of religion will become useless, and of no efficacy or persuasion.

I am entered into a sea of matter, but I will break it

it off abruptly, and sum up this inquiry with the words of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which is one of the four generals, by our laws made the measures of judging heresies : Ἐπίσκοπον εἰς πρεσβυτέρου βαθμὸν ἀναφέρειν, ἱεροσυλία ἐστίν, *It is a sacrilege to bring back a bishop to the degree and order of a presbyter.* It is indeed a rifling the order, and entangling the gifts, and confounding the method of the Holy Ghost; it is a dishonouring them whom God would honour, and a robbing them of those spiritual eminencies with which the spirit of God does anoint the consecrated heads of bishops. And I shall say one thing more, which indeed is a great truth, that the diminution of episcopacy was first introduced by popery; and the popes of *Rome* by communicating to abbots, and other mere priests, special graces to exercise some essential offices of episcopacy, have made this sacred order to be cheap, and apt to be invaded. But then add this: If *Simon Magus* was in so damnable a condition for offering to buy the gifts and powers of the apostolical order, what shall we think of them that *snatch* them away, and pretend to wear them whether the apostles and their successors will or no? This is ψεύσασθαι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, to belie the Holy Ghost; that is the least of it: it is rapine and sacrilege, besides the heresy and schism, and the lie. For the government episcopal, as it was exemplified in the synagogue, and practised by the same measures in the temple, so it was transcribed by the eternal Son of God, who translated it into a gospel ordinance: it was sanctified by the Holy Spirit, who named some of the persons, and gave to them all power and graces from above: it was subjected in the apostles first, and by them transmitted to a distinct order of ecclesiastics: it was received into all churches, consigned in the records of the Holy Scriptures, preached by the universal voice of all the Christian world, delivered by notorious and uninterrupted practice, and

derived to further and unquestionable issue by perpetual succession.

I have done with the hardest part of my text, by finding out the persons intrusted, *the stewards of Christ's family;* which though Christ only intimated in this place, yet he plainly enough manifested in others: the apostles and their successors the bishops, are the men intrusted with this great charge; *God grant they may all discharge it well.* And so I pass from the officers to a consideration of the office itself, in the next words; *Whom the Lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their meat in due season.*

2. The office itself is the stewardship, that is episcopacy, the office of the bishop: the name signifies an office of the ruler indefinitely, but the word was chosen, and by the church appropriated to those whom it now signifies, both because the word itself is a monition of duty, and also because the faithful were used to it in the days of *Moses* and the prophets. The word is in the prophesy of the church, [*I will give to thee princes in peace,* και ἐπισκόπους ἐν δικαιοσύνη, *and bishops in righteousness* *] upon which place St. *Hierom* says, *Principes Ecclesiæ vocat futuros Episcopos* †: [*The spirit of God calls them who were to be Christian bishops, principes, or chief rulers,*] and this was no new thing; for the chief of the priests who were set over the rest, are called bishops by all the Hellenist Jews.‡ Thus *Joel* is called ἐπίσκοπος ἐπ' αὐτὰς, *the bishop over the priests;* and the son of *Bani,* ἐπίσκοπος λευιτῶν *the bishop and visitor over the Levites;* and we find at the purging of the land from idolatry, the high priest placed ἐπισκόπους εἰς οἶκον κυρίε, *bishops over the house of God.* § Nay it was the appellative of the high priest himself, ἐπίσκοπος Ἐλεάζαρ, *Bishop*

* Isa. lx. 17.
† Hunc locum etiam citat St. Clemens Ep. ad Cor.
‡ Neh. xi. 10. § 2 Kin. xi. 18.

Eleazar,

*Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest**, to whom is committed the care of lamps, and the daily sacrifice, and the holy unction.

Now this word the church retained, choosing the same name to her superior ministers, because of the likeness of the ecclesiastical government between the Old and New Testament.

For Christ made no change but what was necessary: baptism was a rite among the Jews, and the Lord's Supper was but the *post-cœnium* of the Hebrews changed into a mystery, from a type to a more real exhibition; and the Lord's Prayer was a collection of the most eminent devotions of the prophets and holy men before Christ, who prayed by the same spirit; and the censures ecclesiastical were but an imitation of the proceedings of the judaical tribunals; and the whole religion was but the law of *Moses* drawn out of its veil into clarity and manifestation; and to conclude in order to the present affair, the government which *Christ* left was the same as he found it; for what *Aaron* and his sons, and the Levites were in the temple, that bishops, priests, and deacons, are in the church; it is affirmed by St. *Hierom* † more than once; and the use he makes of it is this, *Esto subjectus Pontifici tuo, & quasi animæ parentem suscipe*; obey your bishop, and receive him as the nursing father of your soul. But above all, this appellation is made honourable by being taken by our blessed Lord himself; for he is called in Scripture the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls.

But our inquiry is not after the name but the office, and the dignity and duty of it; *Ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimis ac divina potestas* (so St. *Cyprian* calls it) *a high and divine power from God of governing the church; rem magnam & preciosam in conspectu*

* Numb. iv. 16.

† Epist. 2. ad Nepot. Epistol. ad Evagrium.

Domini

Domini (so St. *Cyril*) *a great and precious thing in the sight of God;* τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐυκλείων ὅρον, by *Isidore Pelusiot; the utmost limit of what is desirable among men.* But the account upon which it is so desirable, is the same also that makes it formidable. They who have tried it, and did it conscientiously, have found the burden so great, as to make them stoop with care and labour; and they who do it ignorantly or carelessly, will find it will break their bones: for the bishop's office is all that duty which can be signified by those excellent words of St. *Cyprian: He is a bishop or overseer of the brotherhood, the ruler of the people, the shepherd of the flock, the governor of the church, the minister of Christ, and the priest of God.* These are great titles, and yet less than what is said of them in Scripture, which calls them *salt of the earth, lights upon a candlestick, stars and angels, fathers of our faith, embassadors of God, dispensers of the mysteries of God, the apostles of the churches, and the glory of Christ*; but then they are great burdens too: for the bishop is πεπιστευμένος τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, intrusted with the Lord's people; that is a great charge, but there is a worse matter that follows; καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπαιτηθησόμενος the bishop is he of whom God will require *an account for all their souls:* * they are the words of St. *Paul*, and transcribed into the 40th Canon of the Apostles, and the 24th Canon of the Council of *Antioch.*

And now I hope the envy is taken off; for the honour does not pay for the burden; and we can no sooner consider episcopacy in its dignity, as it it a *rule;* but the very nature of that *rule* does imply so severe a duty, that as the load of it is almost insufferable, so the event of it is very formidable, if we take not great care. For this stewardship is Κυριότης καὶ διακονία, a principality and a ministry. So it was in

* Heb. xiii. 17.

Christ;

Christ; he is Lord of all, and yet he was the servant of all; so it was in the apostles, it was κλῆρ & διακονίας και ἀποστολῆς* their lot was to be apostles, and yet to serve and minister; and it is remarkable, that in *Isaiah*,† the Seventy use the word ἐπίσκοπ& or bishop; but there they use it for the Hebrew word *nechosheth*, which the Greeks usually rendered by ἐργοδιώκτης, φορολόγ&, πράκτωρ, and the interlineary translation by *exactores*. Bishops are only God's ministers and tribute gatherers, requiring and overseeing them that they do their duty; and therefore here the case is so, and the burden so great, and the dignity so allayed, that the envious man hath no reason to be troubled that his brother hath so great a load; nor the proud man plainly to be delighted with so honourable a danger. It is indeed a rule, but it is paternal; it is a government, but it must be neither ἀναγκαστικὸν nor αἰσχροκερδες‡ it is neither a power to constrain, nor a commission to get wealth; for it must be without necessity, and not for filthy lucre sake; but it is a rule, ὡς διακονοῦν& , so St. *Luke*, § *as of him that ministers*; ὡς πάντων δέλ&, so St. *Mark*, ‖ *as of him that is servant of all*; ὡς πόδας νίπτον& , so St. *John*; ¶ such a principality as he hath *that washes the feet* of the weary traveller; or if you please, take it in the words of our blessed Lord himself, that [*He that will be chief among you let him be your minister*,] meaning that if under Christ's kingdom you desire rule, possibly you may have it; but all that rule under him are servants to them that are ruled; and therefore you get nothing by it, but a great labour and a busy employment, a careful life, and a necessity of making severe accounts. But all this is nothing but the general measures; I cannot be useful or understood unless I be more particular. The particulars we shall best enumerate by

* Acts i. 25. † Isai. lx. 17. ‡ 1 Pet. v. 1, 5,
§ Luke xxii. 27. ‖ Mark x. 43. ¶ John xiii. 13.

recounting

recounting those great conjugations of worthy offices and actions by which Christian bishops have blessed and built up Christendom; for because we must be followers of them, as they were of Christ, the recounting what they did worthily in their generations, will not only demonstrate how useful, how profitable, how necessary episcopacy is to the Christian church, but it will at the same time teach us our duty, by what services we are to benefit the church, in what works we are to be employed, and how to give an account of our stewardship with joy.

1. The Christian Church was founded by bishops, not only because the apostles, who were bishops, were the first preachers of the gospel, and planters of churches, but because the apostolical men, whom the apostles used in planting and disseminating religion, were by all antiquity affirmed to have been diocesan bishops; insomuch that as St. *Epiphanius* witnesses,* there were at the first disseminations of the faith of Christ, many churches who had in them no other clergy but a bishop and his deacons, and the presbyters were brought in afterwards as the harvest grew greater: but the bishops names are known, they are *recorded in the book of life*, and *their praise is in the gospel;* such were *Timothy* and *Titus*, *Clemens* and *Linus*, *Marcus* and *Dionysius*, *Onesimus* and *Caius*, *Epaphroditus* and St. *James our Lord's brother*, *Evodius* and *Simon;* all which, if there be any faith in Christians that gave their lives for a testimony to the faith, and any truth in their stories; and unless we who believe *Thucydides* and *Plutarch*, *Livy* and *Tacitus*, think that all church story is a perpetual romance, and that all the brave men, the martyrs and the doctors of the primitive church, did conspire as one man to abuse all Christendom for ever; I say unless all these impossible suppositions be admitted, all these whom I have now

* Lib. 3. Tit. 1.

reckoned

reckoned were bishops fixed in several churches, and had dioceses for their charges.

The consequent of this consideration is this: If bishops were those upon whose ministry Christ founded and built his church, let us consider what great wisdom is required of them that seem to be pillars: the stewards of Christ's family must be wise; that Christ requires: and if the order be necessary to the church, wisdom cannot but be necessary to the order; for it is a shame if they who by their office are fathers in Christ, shall by their unskilfulness be but babes themselves, understanding not the secrets of religion, the mysteries of godliness, the perfections of the evangelical law, all the advantages and disadvantages in the spiritual life. A bishop must be exercised in godliness, a man of great experience in the secret conduct of souls, not satisfied with an ordinary skill in making homilies to the people, and speaking common exhortations in ordinary cases; but ready to answer in all secret inquiries, and able to convince the gainsayers, and to speak wisdom amongst them that are perfect.

If the first bishops laid the foundation, their successors must not only preserve whatsoever is fundamental, but build up the church in a most holy faith, taking care that no heresy sap the foundation, and that no hay or rotten wood be built upon it; and above all things, that a most holy life be superstructed upon a holy and unreprovable faith. So the apostles laid the foundation, and built the walls of the church, and their successors must raise up the roof as high as heaven. For let us talk and dispute eternally, we shall never compose the controversies in religion, and establish truth upon unalterable foundations, as long as men handle the word of God deceitfully, that is with designs and little artifices, and secular partialities; and they will for ever do so, as long as they are proud or covetous. It is not the difficulty of our questions, or the subtlety of our adversaries that makes disputes interminable; but we shall

shall never cure the itch of disputing or establish unity, unless we apply ourselves to humility, and contempt of riches. If we will be contending, let us contend like the olive and the vine, who shall produce best and most fruit; not like the aspine and the elm, which shall make most noise in a wind. And all other methods are a beginning at a wrong end. And as for the people; the way to make them conformable to the wise and holy rules of faith and government, is by reducing them to live good lives. When the children of *Israel* gave themselves to gluttony and drunkenness, and filthy lusts, they quickly fell into abominable idolatries, and St. *Paul* says, that men make shipwreck of their faith by putting away a good conscience;* for the mystery of faith is best preserved ἐν καθαρᾷ συνειδήσει, in a pure conscience,† saith the same apostle: secure but that and we shall quickly end our disputes, and have an obedient and comfortable people; but else never.

2. As bishops were the first fathers of churches, and gave them being; so they preserve them in being: for without sacraments there is no church, or it will be starved and die; and without bishops there can be no priests, and consequently no sacraments; and that must needs be a supreme order from whence ordination itself proceeds. For it is evident and notorious that in Scripture there is no record of ordination, but an apostolical hand was in it; one of the ἄνδρες ἡγέμενοι, one of the chief, one of the superior and ruling clergy; and it is as certain in the descending ages of the church, the bishop always had that power; it was never denied to him, and it was never imputed to presbyters: and St. *Hierom* himself, when out of his anger against *John*, bishop of *Jerusalem*, he endeavoured to equal the presbyter with the bishop, though in very many places he spake otherwise, yet even then also, and in

* 1 Tim. i. 19. † 2 Tim. iii. 9.

that

that heat he excepted *ordination*, acknowledging that to be the bishops peculiar. And therefore they that go about to extinguish episcopacy, do as Julian did; they destroy the presbytery and starve the flock, and take away their shepherds, and dispark their pastures, and tempt God's providence to extraordinaries, and put the people to hard shifts, and turn the channels of salvation quite another way, and leave the church to a perpetual uncertainty, whether she be alive or dead, and the people destitute of the life of their souls, and their daily bread, and their spiritual comforts, and holy blessings.

The consequent of this is: if sacraments depend upon bishops, then let us take care that we convey to the people holy and pure materials, sanctified with a holy ministry, and ministered by holy persons: for although it be true, that the efficacy of the sacraments does not depend wholly upon the worthiness of him that ministers; yet it is as true, that it does not wholly rely upon the worthiness of the receiver; but both together relying upon the goodness of God, produce all those blessings which are designed. The minister hath an influence into the effect, and does very much towards it; and if there be a failure there it is a defect in one of the concurring causes; and therefore an unholy bishop is a great diminution to the people's blessing. St. *Hierom* presses this severely: *Impiè faciunt, &c.* They do wickedly who affirm, that the holy eucharist is consecrated by the words* [alone] *and solemn prayer of the consecrator, and not also by his life and holiness:* and therefore St. *Cyprian* affirms, † that *none but holy and upright men are to be chosen, who offering their sacrifices worthily to God, may be heard in their prayers for the Lord's people:* but for others; *Sacrificia eorum panis luctus* (saith the prophet *Hosea*) *their*

* In Cap. ii. Zeph. † Lib. i.; Ep. 4.

sacrifices

sacrifices are like the bread of sorrow, whoever eats thereof shall be defiled.

This discourse is not mine but St. *Cyprian's*: and although his words are not to be understood dogmatically, but in the case of duty and caution; yet we may lay our hands upon our hearts, and consider how we shall give an account of our stewardship, if we shall offer to the people the bread of God with impure hands; it is of itself a pure nourishment, but if it passes through an unclean vessel, it loses much of its excellency.

3. The like also is to be said concerning prayer: for the episcopal order is appointed by God to be the great minister of Christ's priesthood, that is to stand between Christ and the people in the intercourse of prayer and blessing. *We will give ourselves continually to prayer*, said the apostles, that was the one half of their employment; and indeed a bishop should spend very much of his time in holy prayer, and in diverting God's judgments, and procuring blessings to the people; for in all times, the chief of the religion was ever the chief minister of blessing. Thus *Abraham*, blessed *Abimelech*, and *Melchisedeck* blessed *Abraham*, and *Aaron* blessed the people; and *without all controversy* (saith the apostle) *the less is blessed of the greater.* But then *we know that God heareth not sinners;* and it must be *the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man* that shall *prevail.*

And therefore we may easily consider that a vicious prelate is a great calamity to that flock which he is appointed to bless and pray for. How shall he reconcile the penitents, who is himself at enmity with God? How shall the Holy Spirit of God descend upon the symbols at his prayer who does perpetually grieve him, and quench his holy fires, and drive him quite away? How shall he that hath not tasted of the Spirit by contemplation, stir up others to earnest desires of celestial things? Or what good shall the people receive

ceive, when the bishop lays upon their head a covetous or a cruel, an unjust or an impure hand? But therefore, that I may use the words of St. *Hierom; Cum ab episcopo gratia in populum transfundatur, & mundi totius & ecclesiæ totius condimentum sit episcopus, &c.** Since it is intended that from the bishop grace should be diffused amongst all the people, there is not in the world a greater indency than a holy office ministered by an unholy person, and no greater injury to the people, than that of the blessings which God sends to them by the ministeries evangelical they should be cheated and defrauded by a wicked steward. And therefore it was an excellent prayer which to this very purpose was by the son of *Sirach* made in behalf of the high-priests the sons of *Aaron;* [*God give you wisdom in your heart to judge his people in righteousness, that their good things be not abolished, and that their glory may endure for ever.*†]

4. All the offices ecclesiastical always were, and ought to be conducted by the episcopal order, as is evident in the universal doctrine and practice of the primitive church: οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελειτωσαν. It is the 40th Canon of the Apostles,‡ *Let the presbyters and deacons do nothing without leave of the bishop:* but that case is known

The consequent of this consideration is no other than the admonition in my text: *We are stewards of the manifold grace of God,*§ and dispensers of the mysteries of the kingdom; and *it is required of stewards that they be found faithful; that we preach the word of God, in season and out of season, that we rebuke and exhort, admonish and correct;* for these God calls *pastores secundùm cor meum, pastors according to his own heart, which feed the people with knowledge and understanding;*‖ but they must also

* Dial. adv. Lucifer. † Eccles. xlv. 26.
‡ Et 24. C. Concil. Antioch. § 1 Cor iv. 1, 2, 3. ‖ Jer. iii. 15.

comfort

comfort the afflicted, and bind up the broken heart; minister the sacraments with great diligence, and righteous measures, and abundant charity, always having in mind those passionate words of Christ to St. *Peter*, if thou lovest me, *feed my sheep;* if thou hast any love to me, *feed my lambs.*

And let us remember this also, that nothing can enforce the people to obey their bishops as they ought, but our doing that duty and charity to them which God requires. There is reason in these words of St *Chrysostom*, [*It is necessary that the church should adhere to their bishop as the body to the head, as plants to their roots, as rivers to their springs, as children to their fathers, as disciples to their masters.*] These similitudes express not only the relation and dependency, but they tell us the reason of the duty: The head gives light and reason to conduct the body; the roots give nourishment to the plants; and the springs, perpetual emanation of waters to the channels: fathers teach and feed their children; and disciples receive wise instructions from their masters: and if we be all this to the people, they will be all that to us; and wisdom will compel them to submit, and our charity will invite their compliance; our good example will provoke them to good works, and our meekness will melt them into softness and flexibility: for all the Lord's people are *populus voluntarius*, a free and willing people; and we, who cannot compel their bodies, must thus constrain their souls, by inviting their wills, by convincing their understandings, by the beauty of fair example, the efficacy and holiness, and the demonstrations of spirit.

This is *experimentum ejus qui in nobis loquitur Christus*, the experiment of Christ that speaketh in us; for to this purpose those are excellent words which St. *Paul* spake, [*Remember them who have the rule over you, whose faith follow, considering the end of their*

*their conversation.**]. There lies the demonstration; and those prelates who teach good life, whose sermons are the measures of Christ, and whose life is a copy of their sermons, these must be followed, and surely these will; for these are burning and shining lights: but if we hold forth false fires, and by the amusement of evil examples call the vessels that sail upon a dangerous sea to come upon a rock, or an iron shore instead of a safe harbour, we cause them to make shipwreck of their precious faith, and to perish in the deceitful and unstable waters: *Vox operum fortiùs sonat quàm verborum.* A good life is the strongest argument that your faith is good, and a gentle voice will be sooner entertained than a voice of thunder; but the greatest eloquence in the world is a meek spirit, and a liberal hand; these are the two pastoral staves the prophet speaks of, *nognam & hovelim, beauty and bands;*† he that hath the staff of the beauty of holiness, the ornament of fair example, he hath also the staff of bands, *atque in funiculis Adam trahet eos, in vinculis charitatis,* as the prophet *Hosea*'s expression is,‡ he shall draw the people after him by the cords of a man, by the bands of a holy charity. But if against all these demonstrations any man will be refractory, we have instead of a staff an apostolical rod, which is the last and latest remedy, and either brings to repentance, or consigns to ruin and reprobation.

If there were any time remaining, I could reckon that the episcopal order is the principle of unity in the church; and we see it is so, by the innumerable sects that sprang up when episcopacy was persecuted. I could add, that bishops were the cause that St. *John* wrote his gospel; that the Christian faith was for 300 years together bravely defended by the sufferings, the prisons, and flames, the life and the death of bishops, as the principal combatants; that the fathers of the

* Heb. xiii. 7. † Zech. xi. 7. ‡ Cap. xi.

church

church, whose writings are held in so great veneration in all the Christian world, were almost all of them bishops. I could add, that the Reformation of Religion in *England* was principally by the preachings and the disputings, the writings and the martyrdom of bishops: that bishops have ever since been the greatest defensatives against popery: that *England* and *Ireland* were governed by bishops ever since they were Christian, and under their conduct have for so many ages enjoyed all the blessings of the Gospel. I could add also, that episcopacy is the great stabiliment of monarchy; but of this we are convinced by a sad and too dear bought experience: I could therefore, instead of it, say, that episcopacy is the great ornament of religion; that as it rescues the clergy from contempt, so it is the greatest preservative of the people's liberty from ecclesiastic tyranny on one hand (the gentry being little better than servants while they live under the presbytery), and anarchy and licentiousness on the other: that it endears obedience, and is subject to the laws of princes, and is wholly ordained for the good of mankind, and the benefit of souls. But I cannot stay to number all the blessings which have entered into the world at this door: I only remark these because they describe unto us the bishop's employment, which is, to be busy in the service of souls, to do good in all capacities, to serve every man's need, to promote all public benefits, to cement governments, to establish peace, to propagate the kingdom of Christ, to do hurt to no man, to do good to every man; that is, so to minister, that religion and charity, public peace and private blessings may be in their exaltation.

As long as it was thus done by the primitive bishops, the princes and the people gave them all honour; insomuch that by a decree of *Constantine* the Great, the bishop had power given him to retract the sentences made by the presidents of provinces; and we find in the acts of St. *Nicholas*, that he rescued some innocent

innocent persons from death, when the executioner was ready to strike the fatal blow; which thing, even when it fell into inconvenience, was indeed forbidden by *Arcadius* and *Honorius*; but the confidence and honour was only changed, it was not taken away; for the condemned criminal had leave to appeal to the *Audientia Episcopalis*, to the Bishop's Court. This was not any right which the bishops could challenge; but a reward of their piety; and so long as the holy office was holily administered, the world found so much comfort and security, so much justice and mercy, so many temporal and spiritual blessings consequent to the ministeries of that order, that, as the *Galatians* to St. *Paul*, men have plucked out their eyes to do them service, and to do them honour: for then episcopacy did that good that God intended by it; it was a spiritual government, by spiritual persons, for spiritual ends. Then the princes and the people gave them honours, because they deserved and sought them not; then they gave them wealth, because they would dispend it wisely, frugally and charitably: then they gave them power, because it was sure to be used for the defence of the innocent, for the relief of the oppressed, for the punisment of evil doers, and the reward of the virtuous: then they desired to be judged by them, because their audiencies or courts did ἡσυχάζειν τὸ βαρβαρικὸν, they appeased all furious sentences, and taught gentle principles, and gave merciful measures, and in their courts were all equity and piety, and Christian determinations.

But afterwards, when they did fall εἰς δυναστείαν, into secular methods, and made their counsels vain by pride, and dirtied their sentences with money, then they became like other men; and so it will be, unless the bishops be more holy than other men: but when our sanctity and severity shall be as eminent as the calling is, then we shall be called to councils, and sit in public meetings, and bring comfort to private families,

milies, and rule in the hearts of men by a *jus relationis* such as was between the Roman Emperors and the Senate; they courted one another into power, and in giving honour strived to outdo each other; for from an humble wise man no man will snatch employment that is honourable; but from the proud and from the covetous every man endeavours to wrest it, and thinks it a lawful prize.

My time is now done; and therefore I cannot speak to a third part of the text, the reward of the good steward and of the bad; I shall only mention it to you in a short exhortation, and so conclude. In the primitive church a bishop was never admitted to public penance; not only because in them every crime is ten, and he that could discern a public shame, could not deserve a public honour; nor yet only because every such punishment was scandalous, and did more evil by the example of the crime, than it could do good by the example of the punishment; but also because no spiritual power is higher than the episcopal, and therefore they were to be referred to the divine judgment, which was likely to fall on them very heavily: διχοτομήσει ἄχρηστον ὁ Κύριος: the Lord will cut the evil stewards asunder: he will suffer schisms and divisions to enter in upon us, and that will sadly cut us asunder; but the evil also shall fall upon their persons, like the punishment of quartering traitors, ἵνα καί σε διαμελείσῃ τιμωρίᾳ, punishment with the circumstances of detestation and exemplarity. Consider therefore what is your great duty. Consider what is your great danger. The lines of duty I have already described; only remember how dear and precious souls are to God, since for their salvation Christ gave his blood, and therefore will not easily lose them, whom though they had sinned against him, yet he so highly valued; remember that you are Christ's deputies in the care of souls, and that you succeed in the place of the apostles. *Non est facile stare loco Pauli, & tenere gradum Petri;* You have

have undertaken the work of St. *Paul*, and the office of St. *Peter*, and what think you upon this account will be required of us? St. *Heirom* expresses it thus: The wisdom and skill of a bishop ought to be so great, that his countenance, his gesture, his motion, every thing should be vocal, *ut quicquid agit, quicquid loquitur, doctrina sit Apostolorum:* that whatever he does or speaks be doctrine apostolical. The ancient fathers had a pious opinion, that besides the angel guardian which is appointed to the guard of every man, there is to every bishop a second angel appointed to him at the consecration; and to this *Origen* alludes, saying that every bishopric hath two angels, the one visible and the other invisible. This is a great matter, and shews what a precious thing that order and those persons are in the eyes of God; but then this also means, that we should live angelic lives, which the church rarely well expresses by saying, that episcopal dignity is the ecclesiastic state of perfection, and supposes the persons to be so far advanced in holiness, as to be in the state of confirmation in grace. But I shall say nothing of these things, because it may be they press too hard; but the use I shall make of it upon occasion of the reward of the good and bad steward, is to remind you of your danger. For if it be required of bishops to be so wise and so holy, so industrious and so careful, so busy and so good up to the height of best examples; if they be anointed of the Lord, and are the husbands of the churches; if they be the shepherds of the flock, and stewards of the household; it is very fit they consider their danger, that they may be careful to do their duty. St. *Bernard* considers it well in his epistle to *Henry Archbishop* of *Sens;* If I lying in my cell, and smoaking under a bushel, not shining, yet cannot avoid the breath of the winds, but that my light is almost blown out; what will become of my candle, if it were placed on a candlestick and set upon a hill? I am to look to myself alone, and provide for my own salva-

tion; and yet I offend myself, I am weary of myself, I am my own scandal and my own danger; my own eye, and mine own belly, and my own appetite find me work enough; and therefore God help them who besides themselves are answerable for many others. *Jacob* kept the sheep of *Laban;* and we keep the sheep of Christ; and *Jacob* was to answer for every sheep that was stolen, and every lamb that was torn by the wild beast; and so shall we too, if by our fault one of Christ's sheep perish; and yet it may be there are 100,000 souls committed to the care and conduct of some one shepherd, who yet will find his own soul work enough for all his care and watchfulness. If any man should desire me to carry a frigate into the Indies, in which 100 men were embarked; I were a mad man to undertake the charge without proportionable skill: and therefore when there is more danger, and more souls, and rougher seas, and more secret rocks, and horrible storms, and the shipwreck is an eternal loss, the matter will then require great consideration in the undertaking, and greatest care in the conduct.

Upon this account we find many brave persons in the first and in the middle ages of the church with great resolution refusing episcopacy. I will not speak of those who for fear of martyrdom declined it, but those who for fear of damnation did refuse. St. *Bernard* was by three rich cities severally called to be their bishop, and by two to be their archbishop, and he refused them; St. *Dominicus* refused four successively; St. *Thomas Aquinas* refused the archbishopric of *Naples*, and *Vincentius Ferrerius* would not accept of *Valentia* or *Ilerda;* and *Bernardinus Senensis* refused the bishoprics of *Sens*, *Urbin*, and *Ferrara*. They had reason; and yet if they had done amiss in that office which they declined, it had been something more excusable: but if they that seek it be as careless in the office as they are greedy of the honour, that will be found

found intolerable. *Electus episcopus ambulat in disco, recusans volvitur in areâ*, said the hermit in St. *Hierom*, the bishop walks upon round and trundling stones, but he that refuses it stands upon a floor. But I shall say no more of it, because I suppose you have read it and considered it in St. *Chrysostom's* six books *De Sacerdotio*, in the *Apologetic of* St. *Greg. Naz.* in the pastoral of St. *Greg. of Rome*; in St. *Dionysius's* Eighth *Epistle to Demophilus;* in the letters of *Epiphanius to* St. *Hierom*; in St. *Austin's* Epistle to *Bishop Valerius;* in St. *Bernard's* Life of St. *Malcahy*, in St. *Hierom's* one hundred and thirty-eighth Epistle to *Fabiola*. These things I am sure you could not read without trembling; and certainly if it can belong to any Christian, then [work out your salvation with fear and trembling] that is the bishops burden. For the bishop is like a man that is surety for his friend; he is bound for many, and for great sums: What is to be done in this case? *Solomon's* answer is the way: *Do this now, my son, deliver thyself, make sure thy friend, give not sleep to thine eyes, nor slumber to thine eye-lids:** that is, be sedulous to discharge thy trust, to perform thy charge; be zealous for souls, and careless of money; and remember this, that even in Christ's family there was one sad example of an apostate apostle; and he fell into that fearful estate merely by the desire and greediness of money. Be warm in zeal, and indifferent in thy temporalities: for he that is zealous in temporals, and cold in the spiritual; he that doth the accessaries of his calling by himself, and the principal by his deputies; he that is present at the feast of sheepshearing, and puts others to feed the flock, hath no sign at all upon him of a good shepherd. *It is not fit for us to leave the word of God, and to serve tables*, said the apostles: and if it be a less worthy office to serve the tables even of the poor, to the di-

* Prov. vi. 3, 4.

minution of our care in the dispensation of God's word, it must needs be an unworthy employment to leave the word of God, and to attend the rich and superfluous furniture of our own tables. Remember the quality of your charges. *Civitas est, Vigilate ad custodiam & concordiam; sponsa est, studete amari; oves sunt, intendite pastui:** The church is a spouse; the universal church is Christ's spouse, but your own diocese is yours; behave yourselves so that ye be beloved: your people are as sheep, and they must be fed and guided, and preserved and healed, and brought home: the church is a city, and you are the watchmen; take care that the city be kept at unity in itself; be sure to make peace amongst your people, suffer no hatreds, no quarrels, no suits at law amongst the citizens, which you can avoid; make peace in all your dioceses by all the ways of prudence, piety, and authority that you can; and let not your own corrections of criminals be to any purpose but for their amendment, for the cure of offenders as long as there is hope, and for the security of those who are sound and whole: preach often, and pray continually; let your discipline be with charity, and your censures slow; let not excommunications pass for trifles, and drive not away the fly from your brother's forehead with a hatchet; give counsel frequently, and dispensations seldom, but never without necessity or great charity; let every place in your diocese say, *Invenerunt me vigiles*, the watchmen have found me out, *hussovelim;* they that walk the city round have sought me out and found me: *Let every one of us* (as St. *Paul*'s expression is) *shew himself a workman that shall not be ashamed*; † *operarium inconfusibilem*, mark that; such a labourer as shall not be put to shame for his illness or his unskilfulness, his falseness and unfaithfulness, in that day when the great bishop of souls shall make his last and

* D. Bernard. ad Henr. Episc. Senensem.
† 2 Tim. ii.

dreadful

dreadful visitation: for be sure, there is not a carcase nor a skin, not a lock of wool nor a drop of milk of the whole flock, but God shall for it call the idle shepherd to a severe account: and how, think you, will his anger burn, when he shall see so many goats standing at his left hand, and so few sheep at his right? and upon inquiry shall find, that his ministering shepherds were wolves in sheeps cloathing? and that by their ill-example or pernicious doctrines, their care of money, and carelessness of their flocks, so many souls perish; who if they had been carefully and tenderly, wisely and conscientiously handled, might have shined as bright as angels? And it is a sad consideration to remember, how many souls are pitifully handled in this world, and carelessly dismissed out of this world; they are left to live at their own rate, and when they are sick they are bidden to be of good comfort, and then all is well; who when they are dead find themselves cheated of their precious and invaluable eternity. Oh, how will those souls in their eternal prisons for ever curse those evil and false guides! and how will those evil guides themselves abide in judgment, when the angels of wrath snatch their abused people into everlasting torments? For will God bless them or pardon them, by whom so many souls perish? Shall they reign with Christ who evacuate the death of Christ, and make it useless to dear souls? Shall they partake of Christ's glories, by whom it comes to pass that there is less joy in heaven itself, even because sinners are not converted, and God is not glorified, and the people is not instructed, and the kingdom of God is not filled? Oh, no; the curses of a false prophet will fall upon them, and the reward of the evil steward will be their portion; and they who destroyed the sheep, or neglected them, shall have their portion with goats for ever and ever in everlasting burnings, in which it is impossible for a man to dwell.

Can any thing be beyond this? beyond damnation? Surely

Surely a man will think, not: and yet I remember a severe saying of St. *Gregory*, *Scire debent Prelati, quod tot mortibus digni sunt, quot perditionis exempla ad subditos extenderunt;* one damnation is not enough for an evil shepherd; but for every soul who dies by his evil example or pernicious carelessness, he deserves a new death, a new damnation. Let us therefore be wise and faithful, walk warily, and watch carefully, and rule diligently, and pray assiduously; for God is more propense to rewards then to punishments; and the good steward that is wise and faithful in his dispensation, shall be greatly blessed. But how? *He shall be made ruler over the household.* What is that? for he is so already. True; but he shall be much more; *Ex dispensatore faciet procuratorem*; God will treat him as *Joseph* was treated by his master; he was first a steward, and then a procurator; one that ruled his goods without account, and without restraint: our ministry shall pass into empire, our labour into rest, our watchfulness into fruition, and our bishopric to a kingdom. In the mean time our bishoprics are a great and weighty care, and in a spiritual sense our dominion is founded in grace, and our rule is in the hearts of the people, and our strengths are the powers of the Holy Ghost, and the weapons of our warfare are spiritual; and the eye of God watches over us curiously, to see if we watch over our flocks by day and by night: and though the primitive church (as the ecclesiastic histories observe) when they deposed a bishop from his office, ever concealed his crime, and made no record of it; yet remember this, that God does and will call us to a strict and severe account: take heed that you may never hear that fearful sentence, *I was hungry, and ye gave me no meat.* If you suffer Christ's little ones to starve, it will be required severely at your hands: and know this, that the time will quickly come in which God shall say unto thee in the words of the prophet, *Where is the flock that*

that was given thee, thy beautiful flock? What wilt thou say when he shall visit thee? *

God of mercy grant unto us all to be so faithful and so wise as to convert souls, and to be so blessed and so assisted, that we may give an account of our charges with joy, to the glory of God, to the edification and security of our flocks, and the salvation of our own souls, in that day when the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls shall come to judgment, even our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, love and obedience, now and for evermore, Amen.

* Jer. xiii. 20, 21.

A SER-

A

SERMON

PREACHED AT

THE OPENING OF

THE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND,

MAY 8, 1661.

BEFORE THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LORDS JUSTICES, AND THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL, AND THE COMMONS.

Salus in multitudine consulentium.

Thursday, May 9.

ORDERED, That the Speaker do give the Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of *Down*, the thanks of this House for his yesterday's pains; and that he desire him to print his Sermon.

John Keating, Cler. Parl.

11 *die Maii*, 1661.

ORDERED, That Sir *Theophilus Jones*, Knight, *Marcus Trevor*, Esq.; Sir *William Domvile*, Knight, his Majesty's Attorney General, and *Richard Kirle*, Esq. be and are hereby appointed a Committee to return thanks unto the Lord Bishop of *Down* for his Sermon preached on *Wednesday* last unto the Lords Justices, and Lords Spiritual and Temporal, whereunto the House of Commons were invited; and that they desire his Lordship from this House to cause the same to be forthwith printed and published.

Copia Vera. Ex. per *Philip Ferneley*, Cler. Dom. Com.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL, AND COMMONS OF IRELAND,

ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I OUGHT not to dispute your commands for the printing my Sermon of *Obedience*, lest my Sermon should be *protestatio contra factum:* here I know my example would be the best use to this doctrine, and I am sure to find no inconveniency so great as that of disobedience; neither can I be confident that I am wise in any thing but when I obey; for then I have the wisdom of my superior for my warrant, or my excuse. I remember the saying of *Aurelius* the emperor, *Æquius est me tot & talium amicorum consilium, quam tot tales meam unius voluntatem sequi.* I could easily have pretended excuses; but that day I had taught others the contrary, and I would not shed that chalice which my own hands had newly filled with waters issuing from the fountains of salvation.

My eyes are almost grown old with seeing the horrid mischiefs which came from rebellion and disobedience; and I would willingly now be blessed with observation of peace and righteousness, plenty, and religion, which do already, and I hope shall for ever, attend upon obedience to the best KING and the best CHURCH in the world. I see no objection against my hopes, but that which ought least of all in this case to be pretended: men pretend conscience against obedience; expressly against St. *Paul*'s doctrine, teaching us to *obey for conscience sake*; but to disobey for conscience in a thing indifferent, is never to be found in the books of our religion.

It is very hard when the prince is forced to say to his rebellious subject, as God did to his stubborn people, *Quid faciam tibi?* I have tried all the ways I can to bring thee home, and what shall I now do unto thee? The subject should rather say, *Quid me vis facere?* What wilt thou have me

me to do? This question is the best end of disputations. *Corrumpitur atque dissolvitur imperantis officium, si quis ad id quod facere jussus est, non obsequio debito, sed consilio non considerato respondeat,* said one in *A. Gellius:* When a subject is commanded to obey, and he disputes, and says, *nay, but the other is better;* he is like a servant that gives his master necessary council, when he requires of him a necessary obedience: *Utilius parere edicto quam efferre consilium;* he had better obey than give council, by how much it is better to be profitable than to be witty, to be full of goodness rather than full of talk and argument.

But all this is acknowledged true in strong men, but not in the weak; in vigorous, but not in tender consciences; for obedience is strong meat, and will not down with weak stomachs: as if in the world any thing were easier than to obey; for we see that the food of children is milk and laws; the breast-milk of their nurses and the commands of their parents is all that food and government by which they are kept from harm and hunger, and conducted to life and wisdom. And therefore they that are weak brethren, of all things in the world have the least reason to pretend an excuse for disobedience; for nothing can secure them but the wisdom of the laws; for they are like children in minority, they cannot be trusted to their own conduct, and therefore must live at the public charge, and the wisdom of their superiors is their guide and their security. And this was wisely advised by St. *Paul, Him that is weak in the faith receive, but not to doubtful disputations;* that is not the way for him; children must not dispute with their fathers and their masters: if old men will dispute, let them look to it; that is meat for the strong indeed, though it be not very nutritive; but the laws and the counsels, the exhortations and the doctrines of our spiritual rulers, are the measures by which God hath appointed babes in Christ to become men, and the weak to become strong; and they that are not to be received to doubtful disputations, are to be received with the arms of love, into the embraces of a certain and regular obedience.

But it would be considered, that *tenderness of conscience* is an equivocal term, and does not always signify in a good sense: for a child is of tender flesh; but he whose foot is out of joint, or hath a bile in his arm, or hath strained a sinew, is much more tender. The *tenderness of age* is that weakness that is in the ignorant and the new-beginners: the *tenderness of a bile,* that is soreness indeed rather than tenderness, is of the diseased, the abused, and the mis-persuaded.

suaded. The first indeed are to be tenderly dealt with, and have usage accordingly; but that is the same I have already told; you must teach them, must command them, you must guide them, you must chuse for them, you must be their guardians, and they must comport themselves accordingly. But for that *tenderness of conscience* which is the *disease* and *soreness of conscience*, it must be cured by anodynes and soft usages, unless they prove ineffective, and that the launcet be necessary. But there are amongst us such tender stomachs that cannot endure milk, but can very well digest iron; consciences so tender, that a ceremony is greatly offensive, but rebellion is not; a surplice drives them away as a bird affrighted with a man of clouts, but their consciences can suffer them to despise government, and speak evil of dignities, and curse all that are not of their opinion, and disturb the peace of kingdoms, and commit sacrilege, and account schism the character of saints. The true tenderness of conscience is, 1. That which is impatient of a sin. 2. It will not endure any thing that looks like it; and 3. It will not give offence. Now since all sin is disobedience, 1. It will be rarely contingent that a man in a Christian commonwealth shall be tied to disobey, to avoid *sin*; and certain it is, if such a case could happen, yet 2. Nothing of our present question is so like a *sin*, as when we refuse to obey the laws: to stand in a clean vestment is not so ill a sight as to see men stand in separation; and to kneel at the communion is not so *like* idolatry as *rebellion* is to *witchcraft*. And then 3. For the matter of *giving offences*, what scandal is greater than that which scandalizes the laws? and who is so carefully to be observed, lest he be offended, as the KING? And if that which offends the weak brother is to be avoided, much more that which offends the strong: for this is certainly really criminal; but for the other, it is much odds but it is mistaken: and when the case is so put, between the obedient and the disobedient, which shall be offended, and one will, I suppose there is no question but the laws will take more care of subjects than of rebels, and not weaken them in their duty, in compliance with those that hate the laws, and will not endure the government.

And after all this, in the conduct of government what remedy can there be to those that call themselves tender consciences? I shall not need to say that every man can easily pretend it; for we have seen the vilest part of mankind, men that have done things so horrid, worse than which the sun never saw, yet pretend tender consciences against

against ecclesiastical laws: but I will suppose that they are really such, that they in the simplicity of their hearts follow *Absolom*, and in weakness hide their heads in little conventicles and places of separation for a trifle; what would have they have done for themselves?

If you make a law of order, and in the sanction put a clause of favour for tender consciences, do not you invite every subject to disobedience by impunity, and teach him how to make his own excuse? Is not such a law, a law without an obligation? May not every man chuse whether he will obey or no? and if he pretends to disobey out of conscience, is not he that disobeys equally innocent with the obedient; altogether as just, as not having done any thing without leave; and yet much more religious and conscientious? *Quicunque vult* is but an ill preface to a law; and it is a strange obligation that makes no difference between him that obeys and him that refuses to obey.

But what course must be taken with tender consciences? Shall the execution of the law be suspended as to all such persons? That will be all one with the former: for if the execution be commanded to be suspended, then the obligation of the law by command is taken away, and then it were better there were no law made. And indeed that is the pretension, that is the secret of the business; they suppose the best way to prevent disobedience is to take away all laws. It is a short way indeed; there shall then be no disobedience; but at the same time there shall be no government: but the remedy is worse than the disease; and to take away all wine and strong drink to prevent drunkenness, would not be half so great a folly.

I cannot therefore tell what to advise in this particular, but that every *spiritual guide* should consider who are tender consciences, and who are weak brethren, and use all the ways of piety and prudence to instruct and to inform them, that they may increase in knowledge and spiritual understanding. But they that will be always learning, and never come to the knowledge of the truth; they that will be children of a hundred years old, and never come to years of discretion, they are very unfit to guide others, and to be curates of souls: but they are most unfit to reprove the laws, and speak against the wisdom of a nation, when it is confessed that they are so weak that they understand not the fundamental liberty which Christ hath purchased for them, but are servants to a scruple, and affrighted at a circumstance, and in bondage under an indifferent thing, and so much idolaters

idolaters of their sect or opinion, as to prefer it before all their own nobler interests, and the charity of their brother, and the peace of a whole church and nation.

To you, my Lords and Gentlemen, I hope I may say as *Marcus Curius* said to a stubborn young man, *Non opus vos habere cive qui parere nesciret;* the kingdom hath no need of those that know not how to obey. But as for them who have weak and tender consciences, they are in the state of childhood and minority; but then you know that a child is never happy by having his own humour; if you chuse for him, and make him to use it, he hath but one thing to do; but if you put him to please himself, he is troubled with every thing, and satisfied with nothing. We find that all Christian Churches kept this rule; they kept themselves and others close to the rule of faith, and peaceably suffered one another to differ in ceremonies, but suffered no difference amongst their own; they gave liberty *to other churches*, and gave laws, and no liberty, *to their own subjects:* and at this day the churches of *Geneva, France, Switzerland, Germany, Low Countries*, tie all their people to their own laws, but tie up no man's conscience; if he be not persuaded as they are, let him charitably dissent, and leave that government, and adhere to his own communion: if you be not of their mind, they will be served by them that are; they will not trouble your conscience, and you shall not disturb their government. But when men think they cannot enjoy their conscience unless you give them good livings, and if you prefer them not you afflict their consciences, they do but too evidently declare, that it is not their consciences but their profits they would have secured. Now to these I have only this to say, that their consciences is to be enjoyed by the measures of God's word, but the rule for their estates is the laws of the kingdom; and *I shew you yet a more excellent way*; obedience is the best security for both, because this is the best conservatory of charity and truth, and peace. *Si vis brevi perfectus esse, esto obediens etiam in minimis*, was the saying of a saint; and the world uses to look for miracles from them whom they shall esteem saints: but I had rather see a man truly humble and obedient, than to see him raise a man from the dead, said old *Pachomius*.

But to conclude: If weak brethren shall still plead for toleration and compliance, I hope my Lords and Bishops will consider where it can do good, and do no harm; where they are permitted, and where themselves are bound up by the laws; and in all things where it is safe and holy, to labour

labour to bring them ease and to give them remedy: but to think of removing the disease by feeding the humour, I confess it is a strange cure to our present distempers. He that took clay and spittle to open the blind eyes, can make any thing be *collyrium*; but he alone can do it. But whether any human power can bring good from so unlikely an instrument, if any man desires to be better informed, I desire him, besides the calling to mind the late sad effects of schism, to remember that no church in *Christendom* ever did it. It is neither the way of peace nor government, nor yet a proper remedy for the cure of a weak conscience.

I shall therefore pray to God, that these men who separate in simplicity may by God's mercy be brought to understand their own liberty, and that they may not for ever be babes and *Neophytes*, and wax old in trifles, and for ever stay at the entrances and outside of religion; but that they would pass *in interiora domûs*, and seek after peace and righteousness, holiness, and justice, and love of God and evangelical perfections; and then they will understand how ill-advised they are who think religion consists in zeal against ceremonies, and speaking evil of the laws.

My Lords and Gentlemen, what I said in pursuance of public peace and private duty, and some little incidences to both, I now humbly present to you, more to shew my own obedience than to remind you of your duty, which hitherto you have so well observed in your amicable and sweet concord of councils and affections, during this present session. I owe many thanks to you, who heard me patiently, willingly, and kindly; I endeavoured to please God, and I find I did not displease you: but he is the best hearer of a sermon who first loves the doctrine, and then practises it; and that you have hitherto done very piously and very prosperously. I pray God continue to direct your councils so that you in all things may please him, and in all things be blessed by him, that *all generations may call you blessed* instruments of a lasting peace, and restorers of the old paths, the patrons of the church, friends of religion, and subjects fitted for your prince, who is just up to the greatest example, and merciful beyond all examples; a prince who hath been nourished, and preserved, and restored, and blessed by miracles; a prince whose virtues and fortunes are equally the greatest.

SERMON V.

A

SERMON

PREACHED AT

THE OPENING OF THE PARLIAMENT.

1 SAM. xv. part of verses 22 & 23.

Behold to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.
For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft, and stubbornness is as iniquity and idolatry.

IN the world nothing is more easy than to say our prayers, and to obey our superiors; and yet in the world there is nothing to which we are so unwilling as to prayer, and nothing seems so intolerable as obedience: for men esteem all laws to be fetters, and their superiors are their enemies: and when a command is given, we turn into all shapes of excuse to escape from the imposition: for either the authority is incompetent, or the law itself is *statutum non bonum*, or it is impossible to be kept, or at least very inconvenient, and we are to be relieved in equity; or there is a secret dispensation, and it does not bind in my particular case, or not now; or it is but the law of a man

man, and was made for a certain end; or it does not bind the conscience, but it was only for political regards; or, if the worst happen, I will obey passively, and then I am innocent. Thus every man snuffs up the wind, like *the wild asses in the wilderness*, and thinks that authority is an incroachment upon a man's birth-right; and in the mean time never considers that Christ took upon him our nature that he might learn us obedience, and in that also make us become like unto God. In his justice and his mercy he was imitable before; but before the incarnation of Christ we could not in passive graces imitate God who was impassible: but he was pleased at a great rate to set forward this duty; and when himself became obedient in the hardest point, *obediens usque ad mortem*, and is now become to us *the author and finisher of our obedience*, as well as of *our faith*, *admonetur omnis ætas fieri posse quod aliquando factum est.* We must needs confess it very possible to obey the severest of the divine laws, even to die if God commands, because it was already done by a man; and we must needs confess it excellent, because it was done by God himself.

But this great example is of universal influence in the whole matter of obedience: for that I may speak of that part of this duty which can be useful, and concerns us; men do not deny but they must obey in all civil things, but in religion they have a supreme, *God only*, and conscience is his interpreter; and in effect every man must be the judge whether he shall obey or no. Therefore it is that I say, the example of our Lord is the great determination of this inquiry: for he did obey and suffer, according to the commands of his superiors under whose government he was placed; he *gave his back to the smiters, and his cheeks to the nippers;* he kept the orders of the rulers, and the customs of the synagogues, the law of *Moses* and the rites of the temple; and by so doing *he fulfilled all righteousness.* Christ made no distinctions in his obedience, but

but obeyed God *in all things*, and those that God set over him *in all things according to God*, and in things of religion most of all; because to obey was of itself a great instance of religion: and if ever religion comes to be pretended against obedience in any thing where our superior can command, it is imposture: for that is the purpose of my text, *Obedience is better than sacrifice.* Our own judgment, our own opinion is the sacrifice seldom fit to be offered to God, but most commonly deserving to be consumed by fire: but take it at the best, it is not half so good as *obedience;* for that was indeed Christ's *sacrifice*, and (as *David* said of *Goliah*'s sword, *non est alter talis*) there is no other sacrifice that can be half so good: and when *Abraham* had lifted up his sacrificing knife to slay his son, and so expressed his obedience, God would have no more; he had the obedience, and he cared not for the sacrifice.

By sacrifice here then is meant the external and contingent actions of religion; by obedience is meant submission to authority, and observing the command. Obedience is a not chusing our duty, a not disputing with our betters, not to argue, not to delay, not to murmur; it is not this, but it is much better; for it is *love*, and *simplicity*, and *humility*, and *usefulness*, and I think these do *reductively* contain all that is excellent in the whole conjugation of Christian graces.

My text is a perfect proposition, and hath no special remark in the words of it; but is only a great representation of the most useful truth to all kingdoms and parliaments, and the councils and authorities in the whole world: it is your charter, and the sanction of your authority, and the stablilment of your peace, and the honour of your laws, and the great defence of your religion, and the building up, and the guarding of the King's throne. It is that by which all the societies in heaven and earth are firm: without this you cannot have a village prosperous, or a ship arrive in

harbour: it is that which God hath bound upon us by hope and fear, by wrath and conscience, by duty and necessity. Obedience is the formality of all virtues, and every sin is disobedience. There can no greater thing be said, unless you please to add, that you never read that the earth opened and swallowed up any man alive, but a company of rebellious disobedient people, who rose up against *Moses* and *Aaron*, the prince of the people, and the priest of God. For obedience is the most necessary thing in the world, and *corruptio optimi est pessima:* * disobedience is the greatest evil in the world, and that alone which can destroy it.

My text is instanced in the matter of obedience to God; but yet the case is so, that though I shall in the first place discourse of our obedience to man, I shall not set one foot aside from the main intention of it; because obedience to our superiors is *really*, and is *accounted* to be obedience to God, for they are sent by God, they are his vicegerents, his ministers, and his embassadors. *Apostolus cujusque est quisque*, say the Jews, every man's apostle is himself; and *he that heareth or despiseth you*, said Christ, *heareth or despiseth me;* and the reason is very evident, because it is not to be expected that God should speak to us by himself, but sometimes by angels, sometimes by prophets, once by his Son, and always by his servants.

Now I desire two things to be observed.

First, We may as well perceive that God speaks to us when he uses the ministry of men as when he uses the ministry of angels: one is as much declared and as certain as the other. And if it be said, a man may pretend to come from God, and yet deliver nothing but his own errand; that is no strange thing; but remember also that St. *Paul* puts this supposition in the case of an angel, [*If an angel preach any other Gospel;*] and we know that many angels come like angels

* *Nullum malum majus aut infeliciter feracius quam inobedientia.* Seneca.

of

of light, who yet teach nothing but the ways of darkness. So that we are still as much bound to obey our superior as to obey an angel; a man is *paulò minor angelis*, a little lower than the angels; but we are much lower than the king. Consider then with what fear and love we should receive an angel, and so let us receive all those whom God hath sent to us, and set over us; for they are no less: less indeed in their persons, but not in their authorities. Nay the case is nearer yet; for we are not only bound to receive God's deputies as God's angel, but as God himself. For it is the power of God in the hand of a man, and *he that resists, resist's God's ordinance.* And I pray remember, that there is not only no power greater than God's, but there is no other; for all power is his. The consequent of this is plain enough; I need say no more of it. It is all one to us who commands, God, or God's vicegerent. This was the first thing to be observed.

Secondly, there can be but two things in the world required to make obedience necessary, the greatness of the authority, and the worthiness of the thing. In the first you see the case can have no difference, because the thing itself is but one; there is but one authority in the world, and that is God's; as there is but one sun whose light is diffused into all kingdoms. But is there not great difference in the thing commanded? Yes certainly, there is some; but nothing to warrant disobedience; for whatever the thing be, it may be commanded by man, if it be not countermanded by God. For,

1. *It is not required that every thing commanded should of itself be necessary;* for God himself oftentimes commands things which have in them no other excellency than that of obedience. What made *Abraham* the friend of God? and what made his offer to kill his son to be so pleasing to God? It had been naturally no very great good to cut the throat of a little child; but only that it was obedience. What excel-

lency was there in the journeys of the Patriarchs from *Mesopotamia* to *Syria*, from the land of *Canaan* into *Egypt*? and what thanks could the sons of *Israel* deserve that they sat still upon the seventh day of the week? and how can a man be dearer unto God by keeping of a feast, or building of a booth, or going to *Jerusalem*, or cutting off the foreskin of a boy, or washing their hands and garments in fair water? There was nothing in these things but the obedience. And when our blessed Lord himself came to his servant to take of him the baptism of repentance, alas, he could take nothing but the water and the ceremony; for, as *Tertullian* observes, he was *nullius pœnitentiæ debitor*, he was indeed *a just person and needed no repentance:* but even so it *became him to fulfil all righteousness:* but yet even *then* it was that the Holy Spirit did descend upon his holy head, and crowned that obedience, though it were but a ceremony. *Obedience*, you see, *may be necessary when the law is not so:* For in these cases, God's Son, and God's servants did obey in things which were made good only by the commandment; and if we do so in the instances of human laws, there is nothing to be said against it, but that what was not of itself necessary, is made so by the authority of the commander and the force of the commandment; but there is more in it than so. For,

2. We pretend to be willing to obey even in things *naturally not necessary*, if a divine command does interpose; but if it be only a commandment of man, and the thing be not necessary of itself, then we desire to be excused. But will we do nothing else? We ourselves will do many things that God hath not commanded, and may not our superiors command us in many cases to do what we may lawfully do without a commandment? Can we become a law unto ourselves, and cannot the word and power of our superiors also become a law unto us? Hath God given more to a private

private than to a public hand? But consider the ill consequents of this fond opinion. Are all the practices of *Geneva* or *Scotland* recorded in the Word of God? Are the trifling ceremonies of their public penance recorded in the four Gospels? Are all the rules of decency, and all *things that are of good report*, and all the measures of prudence, and the laws of peace and war, and the customs of the churches of God, and the lines of public honesty, are all these described to us by the laws of God? If they be, let us see and read them, that we may have an end to all questions and minute cases of conscience; but if they be not, and yet by the Word of God these are bound upon us in general, and no otherwise; then it follows that the particulars of all these, which *may be* infinite, and *are* innumerable, yet may be the matter of human laws; and then are bound upon us by the power of God put into the hands of man. The consequent is this, that whatsoever is commanded by our superiors according to the will of God, or whatsoever is not against it, is of necessity to be obeyed.

3. But what if our princes or our prelates command things against the Word of God? what then? Why nothing then, but that we must obey God and not man; there is no dispute of that. But what then again? Why therefore says the Papist I will not obey the Protestant kings, because against the Word of God they command me to come to church where heresy is preached; and I will not acknowledge the bishops, saith the Presbyterian, because they are against the discipline and sceptre of Jesus Christ; and the Independent hates parochial meetings, and is wholly for a gathered church, and supposes this to be the practice apostolical; and I will not bring my child to baptism, (saith the Anabaptist) because God calls none but believers to that sacrament; and I will acknowledge no clergy, no Lord, no master, saith the Quaker, because Christ commands us to *call no man*

master

master on the earth, and *be not called of men Rabbi*. And if you call upon these men to obey the authority God had set over them, they tell you with one voice, with all their hearts, as far as Word of God will give them leave; but God is to be obeyed, and not man; and therefore if you put the laws in execution against them, they will obey you passively, because you are stronger, and so long as they know it they will not stir against you; but they in the mean time are little less than martyrs, and you no better than persecutors.

What shall we do now? for here is evidently a great heap of disorder: they all confess that authority must be obeyed, but when you come to the trial, none of them all will do it, and they think they are not bound; but because their opinions being contrary cannot all be right, and it may be none of them are, it is certain that all this while authority is infinitely wronged and prejudiced amongst them, when all fantastic opinions shall be accounted a sufficient reason to despise it. I hope the Presbyterian will join with the Protestant, and say that the Papist, and the Socinian, and the Independent, and the Anabaptist, and the Quaker are guilty of rebellion and disobedience, for all their pretence of the Word of God to be on their side; and I am more sure that all these will join with the Protestant, and say that the Presbyterian hath no reason to disobey authority upon pretence of their new government, concerning which they do but *dream dreams*, when they think *they see visions*. Certain it is that the biggest part of dissenters in the whole world are criminally disobedient; and it is a thousand to one but that authority is in the right against them, and ought to be obeyed. It remains now in the next place, that we inquire what authority is to do in this case, and what these sectaries and recusants are to do; for these are two things worth inquiry.

1. Concerning authority: All disagreeing persons, to

to cover their foul shame of rebellion or disobedience, pretend conscience for their judge, and the Scripture for their law: now if these men think that by this means they proceed safely, upon the same ground the superior may do what he thinks to be his duty, and be at least as safe as they. If the rebellious subject can think that by God's law he ought not to obey; the prince may at the same time think that by God's law he ought to punish him; and it is as certain that he is justly punished, as he thinks it certain he reasonably disobeys. Or is the conscience of the superior bound to relax his laws if the inferior tells him so? Can the prince give laws to the people's will, and can the people give measures to the prince's understanding? If any one of the people can prescribe or make it necessary to change the law, then every one can; and by this time every new opinion will introduce a new law, and that law shall be obeyed by him only that hath a mind to it, and that will be a strange law that binds a man only to do his own pleasure. But because the king's conscience is to him as sure a rule as the conscience of any disobedient subject can be to himself, the prince is as much bound to do his duty in government, as the other can be to follow his conscience in disagreeing; and the consequent will be, that whether the subject be right or wrong in the disputation, it is certain he hath the just reward of disobedience in the conclusion. If one man's conscience can be the measure of another man's action, why shall not the prince's conscience be the subject's measure? But if it cannot, then the prince is not to depart from his own conscience, but proceed according to the laws which he judges just and reasonable.

2. The superior is tied by the laws of Christian charity so far to bend in the ministration of his laws, as to pity the invincible ignorance and weakness of his abused people, *qui devoratur à malis Pastoribus* (as St. *Hierom*'s expression is) that are devoured by their evil

evil shepherds; but this is to last no longer than till the ignorance can be cured, and the man be taught his duty; for whatsoever comes after this looks so like obstinacy, that no laws in the world judge it to be any thing else. And then secondly, this also is to be understood to be the duty of superiors only in matters of mere opinion, not relating to practice For no man's opinion must be suffered to do mischief, to disturb the peace, to dishonour the government; not only because every disagreeing person can to serve his end pretend his conscience, and so claim impunity for his villainy; but also because those things which concern the good of mankind, and the peace of kingdoms are so plainly taught, that no man who thinks himself so wise as to be fit to oppose authority, can be so foolish as in these things not to know his duty. In other things, if the opinion does neither bite nor scratch, if it dwells at home in the house of understanding, and wanders not in the out-houses of passion and popular orations, the superior imposes no laws, and exacts no obedience, and destroys no liberty, and gives no restraint: this is the part of authority.

II. The next enquiry is, what must the disagreeing subject do when he supposes the superior's command is against the law of God? I answer that if he thinks so, and thinks true, he must not obey his superior in that; but because most men that think so, think amiss, there are many particulars fit by such persons to be considered.

1. Let such men think charitably of others, and that all are not fools or madmen who are not of the same opinion with themselves or their own little party. 2. Let him think himself as fallible and subject to mistake as other men are. 3. But let him by no means think that every opinion of his is an inspiration from God; for that is the pride and madness of a pretended religion: such a man is to be cured by physic; for he could not enter into that persuasion by reason

reason or experience, and therefore it must enter into him by folly or the anger of God. 4. From hence it will naturally follow, that he ought to think his opinion to be uncertain, and that he ought not to behave himself like the man that is too confident; but because his obedience is duty, and his duty certain, he will find it more wise and safe and holy to leave that which is disputable, and pursue that which is demonstrable; to change his uncertain opinion for his certain duty: for it is twenty to one but he is deceived in his opinion; but if he be, it is certain that whatsoever his conscience be, yet in his separation from authority he is a sinner.

2. Every man who by his opinion is engaged against authority, should do well to study his doubtful opinion less, and humility and obedience more. But you say, that this concerns not me, for my disagreeing is not in a doubtful matter, but I am sure I am in the right; there are no *ifs* and *ands* in my case. Well it may be so: but were it not better that you did doubt? *A wise man feareth* (saith *Solomon*) *and departeth from evil; but a fool rageth and is confident:* and the difference between a learned man and a novice is this, that the young fellow crieth out, I am sure it is so; the better learned answers, ἴσως και τὸ τάχα, possibly it may, and peradventure it is so, but I pray inquire: and he is the best *diviner*, μάλις ἄρις ὅσις εικάζει καλῶς, he is the best judge that conjectures best, not he that is most confident; for, as *Xenophanes* said wisely, *Man does but conjecture, but God only knows;* and it is no disparagement to a wise man to learn, and by suspecting the fallibility of things and his own aptness to mistake, to walk prudently and safely, with an eye to God, and an ear open to his superior. Some men are drunk with fancy, and mad with opinion. Who believe more strongly than boys and women? Who are so hard to be persuaded as fools? and who so readily suspect their teachers as they who are governed by chance,

chance, and know not the intrinsic measures of good and evil? *Qui pauca consiaerat de facili pronunciat;* it is a little learning and not enough, that makes men conclude hastily, and clap fast hold on the conclusion before they have well weighed the premises; but experience and humility would teach us modesty and fear.

3. In all disputes he that obeys his superior can never be a *heretic in the estimate of law*, and he can never be a *schismatic in the point of conscience*; so that he certainly avoids one great death, and very probably the other. *Res judicata pro veritate accipitur*, saith the law; if the judge have given sentence, that sentence is supposed a truth: and *Cassidor* said according to the sentence of the law, *Nimis iniquum est ut ille patiatur dispendium, qui imperium fecit alienum.* Our obedience secures us from the imputation of evil, and error does but seldom go in company with obedience But however, there is this advantage to be gotten by obedience; that he who prefers the sentence of the law before his own opinion does do an act of humility, and exercises the grace of modesty, and takes the best way to secure his conscience and the public peace, and pleases the government which he is bound to please, and pursues the excellencies of unity, and promotes charity and godly love: whereas on the other side, he that goes by himself apart from his superior, is always materially a schismatic, and is more likely to be deceived by his own singularity and prejudice and weakness, than by following the guides God hath set over him: and if he loses truth, certainly he will get nothing else: for by so doing we lose our peace too, and give public offence, and arm authority against us, and are scandalous in law, and pull evil upon our heads; and all this for a proud singularity, or a trifling opinion, in which we are not so likely to be deceived, if we trust ourselves less, and the public more. *In omnibus falli possum, in obedientia non possum,*

possum, said St. *Teresa*, I can in every thing else, but in obedience I can never be deceived. And it is very remarkable in my text, that *rebellion* or *disobedience* is compared to *the sin of witchcraft*. Indeed it seems strange, for the meaning of it is not only that a rebel is as much hated by God as a witch, but it means that the sins are alike in their very natures: *quasi peccatum divinationis* (saith the vulgar Latin) they that disobey authority, trusting in their own opinions, are but like witches or diviners; that is, they are led by an evil spirit; pride and a lying and deceiving spirit is their teacher, and their answers are seldom true; for though they pretend the truth of God for their disobedience, yet they *fall into the deception of the devil*, and that is the end of their soothsaying. And let me add this, That when a man distrusts his superior, and trusts himself, if he misses truth, it will be greatly imputed to him; he shall feel the evil of his error and the shame of his pride, the reproach of his folly and the punishment of his disobedience, the dishonour of singularity, and the restlesness of schism, and the scorn of the multitude: but on the other side, if he obey authority, and yet be deceived, he is greatly excused, he erred on the safer side, he is defended by the hands of many virtues, and gets peace and love of the congregation.

You see the blessings of obedience, even in the questions and matters of religion: but I have something more to say, and it is not only of great use to appease the tumultuary disputations and arguings of religion which have lately disturbed these nations, but is proper to be spoken to, and to be reduced to practice by this Honourable and High Court of Parliament.

That which I am to say is this; You have no other way of peace, no better way to appease and quiet the quarrels in religion which have been too long among us, but by reducing all men to obedience, and all

questions

questions to the measures of the laws: for they on both sides pretend Scripture, but one side only can pretend to the laws; and they that do admit no authority above their own to expound Scripture, cannot deny but kings and parliaments are the makers and proper expounders of our laws; and if ever you mean to have *truth and peace kiss each other*, let no man dispute against your laws. For did not our blessed Saviour say, that an oath is the end of all questions, and after depositions are taken, all judges go to sentence? What oaths are to private questions, that laws are to public. And if it be said that laws may be mistaken; it is true; but may not an oath also be a perjury? And yet because in human affairs we have no greater certainty, and greater than God gives we may not look for, let the laws be the last determination; and in wise and religious governments no disputation is to go beyond them.

2. But this is not only true in religious prudence and plain necessity, but this is the way that God hath appointed, and that he hath blessed, and that he hath intended to be the means of ending all questions. This we learn from St. *Paul*,* *I exhort that first of all prayers, and supplications, and intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men · for kings and for all that are in authority:* for all; for parliaments and for councils, for bishops and for magistrates: it is for all, and for kings above all. Well, to what purpose is all this? *that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.* Mark that: kings and all that are in authority are by God appointed to be the means of obtaining unity and peace in godliness, ἐν εὐσεβείαις, in all the true and godly worshippings of God; no unity in religion without kings and bishops, and those that are in authority.

3. And indeed because this is God's way of ending

* 1 Tim. ii. 1.

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our controversies, the matter of authority is highly to be regarded. If you suffer the authority of the king to be lessened, to be scrupled, to be denied in ecclesiastical affairs, you have no way left to silence the tongues and hands of gainsaying people. But so it is, the king's authority is appointed and enabled by God to end our questions of religion: *Divinatio in labiis regis* (saith *Solomon* *) *in judicio non errabit os ejus*, divination and a wise sentence is in the lips of the king, and his mouth shall not err in judgment. In all Scripture there is not so much for the pope's infallibility, but by this it appears there is a divinity in the king's sentence: for God gives to kings, who are his vicegerents, a peculiar spirit. And when *Justinian* had out of the sense of *Julian* the lawyer observed that there were many cases for which law made no provision, he adds, *If any such shall happen, Augustum imploretur remedium,*† run to the king for remedy; *for therefore God hath set the imperial fortune over human affairs, ut possit omnia quæ noviter contingunt & emendare & componere, & modis ac regulis competentibus tradere*, that the king may amend and rule and compose every new arising question. And it is not to be despised, but is a great indication of this truth, that the answers of the Roman princes and judges recorded in the civil law are such that all nations of the world do approve them, and are a great testimony how the sentences of kings ought to be valued, even in matters of religion, and questions of greatest doubt. *Bona conscientia scyphus est Josephi*, said the old *Abbot Kells*;‡ a good conscience is like *Joseph's* cup, in which our lord the king divines. And since God hath blessed us with so good, so just, so religious and so wise a prince, let the sentence of his laws be our last resort, and no questions be permitted after

* Prov. xvi. 10. † L. viii. Cod. de Veteri Jure enulcando.
‡ Petrus Cellensis, lib. de Conscientia.

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his judgment and legal determination. For wisdom saith, *by me princes rule, by me they decree justice:* and therefore the spirit of the king is a divine eminency, and is as the spirit of the most High God.

4. Let no man be too busy in disputing the laws of his superiors, for a man by that seldom gets good to himself, but seldom misses to do mischief unto others: μὴ ἔριζε γονεῦσι κἂν δίκαια λέγῃς, said one in *Laertius.* Will a son contend with his father? that is not decent, though the son speak that which is right: he may possibly say well enough, but he does very ill; not only because he does not pay his duty and reverential fear, but because it is in itself very often unreasonable to dispute concerning the command of our superior, whether it be good or no; for the very commandment can make it not only good, but a necessary good. *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay on you no greater burden than these necessary things,* said the council of *Jerusalem:* and yet these things were not necessary, but as they were commanded: to abstain from a strangled hen or a bloody pudding could not of themselves be necessary; but the commandment came, authority did interpose, and then they were made so.

5. But then besides the advantages both of the spirit, and the authority of kings in matter of question, the laws and decrees of a national church ought upon the account of their own advantages be esteemed as a final sentence in all things disputed. The thing is a plain command, *Hebrews* xiii. 7. *Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the Word of God:* this tells what rulers he means; rulers ecclesiastical: and what of them? *whose faith follow;* they must *præire in articulis;* they are not masters of your faith, but guides of it: and *they that sit in Moses chair* must be heard and obeyed, said our blessed Saviour. These words were not said for nothing; and they were nothing if their authority were nothing.

For

For between the laws of a church and the opinion of a subject the comparison is the same as between a public spirit and a private. The public is far better, the daughter of God, and the mother of a blessing, and always dwells in light. The public spirit hath already passed the trial, it hath been *subjected to the Prophets*, tried and searched and approved; the private is yet to be examined. The public spirit is uniform and apt to be followed; the private is various and multiform as chance, and no man can follow him that hath it: for if he follows one, he is reproved by a thousand; and if he changes he may get a shame, but no truth; and he can never rest but in the arms and conduct of his superior. When *Aaron* and *Miriam* murmured against *Moses*, God told them they were prophets of an inferior rank than *Moses* was; God communicated himself to them in dreams and visions; but the *ruach hakkodesh*,* the public spirit of *Moses* their prince, that was higher: and what then? *wherefore then* (God said) *were ye not afraid to speak against my servant Moses?*† plainly teaching us, that were there is a more excellent spirit, they that have a spirit less excellent ought to be afraid to speak against it. And this is the full case of the private and public spirit; that is, of a subject speaking against the spirit and the laws of the church. In heaven, and in the air, and in all the regions of spirits, the spirit of a lower order dares not speak against the spirit of an higher; and therefore for a private spirit to oppose the public, is a disorder greater than is in hell itself.

To conclude this point; let us consider whether it were not an intolerable mischief if the Judges should give sentence in causes of instance by the measures of their own fancy, and not by the laws; who would endure them? and yet why may they not do that as well as any ecclesiastic person preach religion, not which the

* רוח הקודש. † Num. xii. 6, 7, 8.

laws

laws allow, but what is taught him by his own private opinion? But he that hath the laws on his side, hath ever something of true religion to warrant him, and can never want a great measure of justification: νόμος καὶ χώρα, the laws and the customs of the country are the results of wise counsels or long experience; they ever comply with peace and public benefit: and nothing of this can be said of private religions: for they break the peace and trouble the conscience, and undo government, and despise the laws, and offend princes, and dishonour the wisdom of parliaments, and destroy obedience.

Well, but in the last place, but if we cannot do what the laws command, we will suffer what they impose; and then all is well again. But first, who ever did so that could help it? And secondly, this talking of passive obedience is but a mockery; for what man did ever say the laws were not good, but he also said the punishment was unjust? And thirdly, which of all the recusants did not endeavour to get ground upon the laws, and secretly or openly asperse the authority that put him to pain for doing that which he calls his duty; and can any man boast of his passive obedience that calls it persecution? He may think to please himself, but he neither does or says any thing that is for the reputation of the laws: such men are like them that sail in a storm; they may possibly be thrown into a harbour, but they are very sick all the way.

But after all this I have one thing to observe to such persons, that such a passive obedience as this does not acquit a man before God; and he that suffers what the law inflicts is not discharged in the court of conscience, but there is still a sinner and a debtor: for *the law is not made for the righteous, but for sinners*; that is, the punishment appointed by the law falls on *him only* that hath sinned: but an offending subject cannot *with the fruit of his body pay for the sin of his soul:* when he does evil he must suffer evil; but if he

he does not repent besides, a worse thing will happen to him; for we are not tied to obey only for wrath but also for conscience. *Passive obedience* is only the correspondent of *wrath*, but it is the *active obedience* that is required by *conscience;* and whatever the subject suffers for his own fault, it matters nothing as to his duty, but this also God will exact at the hands of every man that is placed under authority.

I have now told you the sum of what I had to say concerning obedience to laws and to your own government, and it will be to little purpose to make laws in matters of religion, or in any thing else, if the end of it be, that every man shall chuse whether he will obey or no: and if it be questioned whether you be deceived or no, though the suffering such a question is a great diminution to your authority, yet it is infinitely more probable that you are in the right than that the disobedient subject is; because you are conducted with a public spirit, you have a special title and peculiar portions of the promise of Gods assistance, you have all the helps of counsel and the advantages of deliberation, you have the Scriptures and the laws, you are as much concerned to judge according to truth as any man, you have the principal of all capacities and states of men to assist your consultations, you are the most concerned for peace, and to please God also is your biggest interest: and therefore it cannot be denied to be the most reasonable thing in the world which is set down in the law, *præsumptio est pro authoritate imponentis*, the presumption of truth ought to be on your side; and since this is the most likely way for truth, and the most certain way for peace, you are to insist in this, and it is not possible to find a better.

I have another part or sense of my text yet to handle; but because I have no more time of mine own, and I will not take any of yours, I shall only do it in a short exhortation to this most honourable auditory, and so conclude.

God hath put a royal mantle, and fastened it with a golden clasp, upon the shoulder of the KING, and he hath given you the judges robe; the King holds the sceptre, and he hath now permitted you to touch the golden ball, and to take it a while into your handling, and make obedience to your laws to be duty and religion: but then remember that the first in every kind is to be the measure of the rest; you cannot reasonably expect that the subjects should obey you, unless you obey God. I do not speak this only in relation to your personal duty; though in that also it would be considered, that all the bishops and ministers of religion are bound to teach the same doctrines by their lives as they do by their sermons; and what we are to do in the matters of doctrine, you are also to do in matter of laws; what is reasonable for the advantages of religion, is also the best method for the advantages of *government;* we must preach by our good example, and you must govern by it; and your good example in observing the laws of religion will strangely endear them to the affections of the people. But I shall rather speak to you as you are in a capacity of union and of government; for as now you have a new power, so there is incumbent upon you a special duty.

1. Take care that all your power and your counsels be employed in doing honour and advantages to piety and holiness. Then you obey God in your public capacity, when by holy laws and wise administrations you take care that all the land be an obedient and a religious people. For then you are princely rulers indeed when you take care of the salvation of a whole nation. *Nihil aliud est imperium nisi cura salutis alienæ*, said *Ammianus;* government is nothing but a care that all men be saved. And therefore take care that men do not destroy their souls by the abominations of an evil life: see that God be obeyed, take care that the breach of the laws of God may not be unpunished. The best way to make men to be good subjects to the king is to make

make them good servants of God. Suffer not drunkenness to pass with impunity; let lust find a public shame: let the sons of the nobility and gentry no more dare to dishonour God than the meanest of the people shall: let baseness be basely esteemed; that is, put such characters of shame upon dishonourable crimes, that it be esteemed more against the honour of a gentleman to be drunk than to be kicked, more shame to fornicate than to be caned: and for honour's sake and the reputation of Christianity, take some course that the most unworthy sins of the world have not reputation added to them by being the practice of gentlemen and persons of good bith and fortunes. Let not them who should be examples of holiness have an impunity and a licence to provoke God to anger; lest it be said that in *Ireland* it is not lawful for any man to sin, unless he be a person of quality. *Optimus est reipublicæ status, ubi nihil deest nisi licentia pereundi;** In a commonwealth, that is the best state of things, where every thing can be had but a leave to sin, a licence to be undone.

2. As God is thus to be obeyed, and you are to take care that he be, so God also must be honoured, by paying that reverence and religious obedience which is due to those persons whom he hath been pleased to honour, by admitting them to the dispensation of *his blessings*, and the ministries of *your religion*. For certain it is this is a right way of giving honour and obedience to God. The church is in some very peculiar manner the *portion* and the *called* and the *care* of God; and it will concern you in pursuance of your obedience to God, to take care that they in whose hands religion is to be ministered and conducted, be not discouraged. For what your judges are to the ministry of laws, that your bishops are in the ministries of religion; and it concerns you that the hands of neither of them be made

* Seneca.

weak; and so long as you make religion your care, and holiness your measure, you will not think that authority is the more to be despised because it is in the hands of the church, or that it is a sin to *speak evil of dignities*, unless they be ecclesiastical; but that they may be reviled, and that though nothing is baser than for a man to be a thief, yet sacrilege is no dishonour; and indeed to be an oppressor is a great and crying sin, yet to oppress the church, to diminish her rents, to make her beggarly and contemptible, that is no offence; and that though it is not lawful *to despise government*, yet if it be church-government, that then the case is altered. Take heed of that, for then God is dishonoured, when any thing is the more despised by how much it relates nearer unto God. No religion ever did despise their chiefest ministers; and the Christian religion gives them the greatest honour. For honourable priesthood is like a shower from heaven, it causes blessings every where: but a pitiful, a disheartened, a discouraged clergy, waters the ground with a water-pot, here and there a little good, and for a little while; but every evil man can destroy all that work whenever he pleases. Take heed; in the world there is not a greater misery can happen to any man, then to be an enemy to God's church. All histories of christendom and the whole Book of God have sad records, and sad threatenings, and sad stories of *Corah*, and *Doeg*, and *Balaam*, and *Jeroboam*, and *Uzzah*, and *Ananias*, and *Sapphira*, and *Julian*, and of heretics and schimatics, and sacrilegious; and after all, these men could not prevail finally, but paid for the mischief they did, and ended their days in dishonour, and left nothing behind them but the memory of their sin, and the record of their curse.

3. In the same proportion you are to take care of all inferior relatives of God and of religion. Find out methods to relieve the poor, to accommodate and well dispose of the cures of souls; let not the churches lie waste

waste and in ruinous heaps, to the diminution of religion, and the reproach of the nation, lest the nations abroad say, that the *Britons* are a kind of Christians that have no churches: for churches, and courts of judicature, and the public defences of an imperial city, are *res sacræ;* they are venerable in law, and honourable in religion.

But that which concerns us most is, that we all keep close to our religion. *Ad magnas reipublicæ utilitates retinetur religio in civitatibus,* said *Cicero;* by religion and the strict preserving of it, ye shall best preserve the interests of the nation: and according to the precept of the Apostle, *Mark them which cause divisions amongst us, contrary to the doctrine that ye have received, and avoid them.** For I beseech you to consider, all you that are true protestants; do you not think that your religion is holy, and apostolical, and taught by Christ, and pleasing unto God? If you do not think so, why do you not leave it? But if you do think so, why are ye not zealous for it? Is not the government a part of it? it is that which immures, and adorns, and conducts all the rest, and is established in the thirty-sixth article of the church, in the public service book, and in the book of consecration: it is therefore a part of our religion, and is not all of it worth preserving? If it be, then they which make schisms against this doctrine, by the rule of the apostle, are to be avoided. *Beatus qui prædicat verbum inauditum,* blessed is he that preaches a word that was never heard before; so said the *Spanish* Jesuit: but Christ *said otherwise; No man having drunk old wine straight desires new, for he saith the old is better.* And so it is in religion, *Quod primum verum,* truth is always first: and since episcopacy hath been of so lasting an abode, of so long a blessing, since it hath ever combined with government, and hath been taught by that

* Rom. xvi. 17.

Spirit

Spirit that hath so long dwelt in God's church, and hath now according to the promise of *Jesus*, that says *the gates of hell shall not prevail against the church*, been restored amongst us by a heap of miracles, and as it went away, so it returned again in the hand of monarchy, and in the bosom of our fundamental laws; suffer no evil tongue to speak against this truth, which hath had so long a testimony from God, and from experience, and from the wisdom of so many ages, of all your ancestors and all your laws, lest ye be found to speak against God, and neglect the things that belong unto your peace, and get nothing by it but news and danger, and what other effects ye know not. But *Leontinus* bishop of *Antioch* stroaked his old white beard and said, *When this snow is dissolved, a great deal of dirty weather will follow;* meaning, that when the old religion should be questioned and discountenanced, the new religion would bring nothing but trouble and unquietness: and we have found it so by a sad experience.

4. Ye cannot obey God unless ye do justice: for this also is better than sacrifice, said *Solomon*, *Prov.* xxi. 3. for Christ, who is *the Sun of righteousness*, is a *sun and a shield* to them that do righteously. The *Indian* was not immured sufficiently by the *Atlantic* sea, nor the *Boshphoran* by the walls of ice, nor the *Arabian* by his meridian sun; the Christian justice of the *Roman* princes brake through all inclosures, and by justice set up Christ's standard, and gave to all the world a testimony how much could be done by prudence and valour, when they were conducted by the hands of justice. And now you will have a great trial of this part of your obedience to God.

For you are to give sentence in the causes of half a nation: and he had need be a wise and a good man that divides the inheritance amongst brethren; that he may not be abused by contrary pretences, nor biassed by the interest of friends, nor transported with the unjust

just thoughts even of a just revenge, nor allured by the opportunities of spoil, nor turned aside by partiality in his own concerns, nor blinded by gold which puts out the eyes of wise men, nor cozened by pretended zeal, nor wearied with the difficulty of questions, nor directed by a general measure in cases not measurable by it, nor borne down by prejudice, nor abused by resolutions taken before the cause he heard, nor overruled by national interests. For justice ought to be the simplest thing in the world, and is to be measured by nothing but by truth and by laws, and by the decrees of princes. But whatever you do, let not the pretence of a different religion make you think it lawful to oppress any man in his just rights: for opinions are not, but laws only, and *doing as we would be done to*, are the measures of justice: and though justice does alike to all men, Jew and Christian, Lutheran and Calvinist; yet to do right to them that are of another opinion is the way to win them; but if you for conscience sake do them wrong, they will hate you and your religion.

Lastly, as *obedience is better than sacrifice*, so God also said, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice;* meaning that mercy is the best obedience. *Perierat totum quod Deus fecerat, nisi misericordia subvenisset*, said *Chrysologus;* all the creatures both of heaven and earth would perish if mercy did not relieve us all. Other good things more or less, every man expects according to the portion of his fortune: *Ex clementia omnes idem sperant*,* but from mercy and clemency all the world alike do expect advantages. And which of us all stands here this day, that does not need God's pardon and the king's? Surely no man is so much pleased with his own innocence, as that he will be willing to quit his claim to mercy; and if we all need it, let us all shew it.

* Seneca.

Naturæ

Naturæ imperio gemimus, cum funus adultæ
Virginis occurrit, vel terrâ clauditur infans,
Et minor igne rogi——

If you do but see a maiden carried to her grave a little before her intended marriage, or an infant die before the birth of reason, nature hath taught us to pay a tributary tear: Alas! your eyes will behold the ruin of many families, which though they sadly have deserved, yet mercy is not delighted with the spectacle; and therefore God places a watry cloud in the eye, that when the light of heaven shines upon it, it may produce a rainbow to be a sacrament and a memorial that God and the sons of God do not love to see a man perish. God never rejoices *in the death of him that dies;* and we also esteem it undecent to have music at a funeral. And as religion teaches us to pity a condemned criminal, so mercy intercedes for the most benign interpretation of the laws. *You must indeed be as just as the laws, and you must be as merciful as your religion:* and you have no way to tie these together, but to follow the pattern in the mount; do as God does, who *in judgment remembers mercy.*

To conclude; If every one in this honourable assembly would join together to promote Christian religion in its true notion, that is, peace and holiness, the love of God and the love of our brother, Christianity in all its proper usefulness, and would not endure in the nation any thing against the the laws of the holy *Jesus;* if they were all zealous for the doctrines of righteousness, and impatient of sin in yourselves and in the people, it is not to be imagined what a happy nation we should be. But if ye divide into parties, and keep up useless differences of names or interests; if ye do not join in the bands of peace, that is, the king and the church, religion and the good of the nation, you can never hope to see a blessing to be the end of your labours. Remember the words of *Solomon, Righteous-*

ness

ness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people;* but when righteousness is advanced in the hearts and lives of the nation, who shall dare to reprove your faith, who can find fault with your religion?

God of his mercy grant that in all your consultations the Word of God may be your measure, the Spirit of God may be your guide, and the glory of God may be your end: He of his mercy grant that moderation may be your limit, and peace may be within your walls as long as your are there, and in all the land for ever after. But remember, that since the honour and service of his majesty, and the peace and prosperity of the church, the perpetuity of our fundamental laws, public justice, and the honour of all legal authority, the advancement of trade, and the wealth of the nation is your design; remember, I pray, what warranty you have to expect all this; no less than the words of our Blessed Saviour, but it is upon these terms, *Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be added to you.* Amen.

* Prov. xxiv, 34.

VIA

VIA INTELLIGENTIÆ.

A

SERMON

PREACHED TO

THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN;

&c. &c.

PUBLISHED AT THEIR DESIRE,

Ad majorem Dei gloriam.

TO THE READER.

PEACE is so great a blessing, and disputations and questions in religion are so little friends to peace, that I have thought no man's time can be better spent than in propositions and promotions of peace, and consequently in finding expedients, and putting periods to all contentious Learning. I have already in a discourse before the Right Honourable the *Lords* and *Commons* assembled in this Parliament, proved that obedience is the best *medium* of *peace* and true *religion*; and *laws* are the only common term and certain rule and measure of it. *Vocatâ ad concionem multitudine, quæ coalescere in populum unius corporis nullâ re præterquam legibus poterat;* said *Livy*. *Obedience to man* is the external instrument; and the best in the world. To which I now add, that *Obedience to God* is the best internal instrument; and I have proved it in this discourse. Peace and holiness are twin sisters; after which because every man is bound to follow, and he that does not shall never see God, I concluded that the office of a bishop is in nothing so signally to be exhibited as in declaring by what means these great duties and blessings are to be acquired. This way I have here described is an old way; for it was Christ's way, and therefore it is truth

truth and life: but it hath been so little regarded and so seldom taught, that when I first spake my thoughts of it in the following words, before the little, but excellent, University of *Dublin*, they consented to it so perfectly, and so piously entertained it, that they were pleased with some earnestness to desire me to publish it to the world, and to consign it to them as a perpetual memorial of their duty, and of my regards to them, and care over them in my station. I was very desirous to serve and please them in all their worthy desires, but had found so much reason to distrust my own abilities, that I could not resolve to do what I fain would have done; till by a second communication of those thoughts, though in differing words, I had published it also to my Clergy at the Metropolitical Visitation of the most Reverend and Learned Lord Primate of *Armagh*, in my own diocese. But when I found that they also thought it very reasonable and pious, and joined in the desire of making it public, I consented perfectly, and now only pray to God it may do that work which I intended. I have often thought of those excellent words of Mr. *Hooker* in his very learned Discourse of *Justification*; ["Such is the untoward "constitution of our nature, that we do neither so perfect-"ly understand the way and knowledge of the Lord, nor so "stedfastly embrace it when it is understood, nor so gra-"ciously utter it when it is embraced, nor so peaceably "maintain it when it is uttered, but that the best of us are "overtaken sometime through blindness, sometime through "hastiness, sometime through impatience, sometime through "other passions of the mind, whereunto (God knows) we "are too subject."] That I find by true experience, the best way of *Learning* and *Peace* is that which cures all these evils, as far as in the world they are curable; and that is the ways of *holiness*, which are the best and only way of truth. In disputations there is no end, and but very little advantage; but the way of godliness hath in it no error, and no doubtfulness. By this therefore I hoped best to apply the counsel of the wise man: *Stand thou fast in thy sure understanding, in the way and knowledge of the Lord, and have but one manner of word, and follow the word of peace and righteousness.** I have reason to be confident that they who desired me to publish this Discourse will make use of it, and find benefit by it: and if any others do so too, both they and I shall still more and more give God all thanks, and praise, and glory.

* Ecclus. v. 10. Vulg. Edit. Lat.

SERMON VI.

VIA INTELLIGENTIÆ.

JOHN vii. 17.

If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself.

THE ancients in their mythological learning tell us, that when *Jupiter* espied the men of the world striving for truth, and pulling her in pieces to secure her to themselves, he sent *Mercury* down amongst them, and he with his usual arts dressed error up in the imagery of truth, and thrust her into the crowd, and so left them to contend still: and though then by contention men were sure to get but little truth, yet they were as earnest as ever, and lost peace too, in their importune contentions for the very image of truth. And this indeed is no wonder: but when truth and peace are brought into the world together, and bound up in the same bundle of life; when we are taught a religion by the Prince of Peace, who is the truth itself, to see men contending for *this truth* to the breach of *that peace;* and when men fall out, to see that they should make Christianity their theme, that is one of the greatest wonders in the world. For Christianity is ἥμερον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον νομοθεσία, a soft and gentle institution; ὑγρὸν καὶ μαλιχον ἦθος, it was thought into the world to soften the asperities of human

man nature, and to cure the barbarities of evil men, and the contentions of the passionate. The eagle seeing her breast wounded, and espying the arrow that hurt her to be feathered, cried out πτερόν με τὸν πτερωτὸν ὀλλύει, the feathered nation is destroyed by their own feathers; that is, a Christian fighting and wrangling with a Christian; and indeed that is very sad: but wrangling about peace too; that peace itself should be the argument of a war, that is unnatural: and if it were not that there are many who are *homines multæ religionis, nullius penè pietatis*, men of much religion and little godliness, it would not be that there should be so many quarrels in and concerning that religion which is wholly made up of truth and peace, and was sent amongst us to reconcile the hearts of men when they were tempted to uncharitableness by any other unhappy argument. *Disputation* cures no vice, but kindles a great many, and makes passion evaporate into sin: and though men esteem it learning, yet it is the most useless learning in the world. When *Eudamidas* the son of *Archidamas* heard old *Xenocrates* disputing about *wisdom*, he asked very soberly, if the old man be yet disputing and inquiring concerning *wisdom*, what time will he have to make use of it? Christianity is all for practice, and so much time as is spent in quarrels about it is a diminution to its interest: men inquire so much what it is, that they have but little time left to *be Christians*. I remember a saying of *Erasmus*, that when he first read the New Testament with fear and a good mind, with a purpose to understand it and obey it, he found it very useful and very pleasant: but when afterwards he fell on reading the vast differences of commentaries, then he understood it less than he did before, then he began *not* to understand it: for indeed the truths of God are best dressed in the plain culture and simplicity of the spirit; but the truths that men commonly teach are like the reflexions of a multiplying-glass: for one piece of good

good money you shall have forty that are fantastical; and it is forty to one if your finger hit upon the right. Men have wearied themselves in the dark, having been amused with false fires: and instead of going home, have wandered all night ἐν ὁδοῖς ἀβάταις, in untrodden, unsafe, uneasy ways; but have not found out what their soul desires. But therefore since we are so miserable, and are in error, and have wandered very far, we must do as wandering travellers used to do, go back just to that place from whence they wandered, and begin upon a new account. Let us go to the truth itself, to Christ, and he will tell us an easy way of ending all our quarrels; for we shall find Christianity to be the easiest and the hardest thing in the world: it is like a secret in *arithmetic*, infinitely hard till it be found out by a right operation, and then it is so plain, we wonder we did not understand it earlier.

Christ's way of finding out of truth is by *doing the will of God*. We will try that by and by, if possible we may find that easy and certain: in the mean time let us consider what ways men have propounded to find out truth, and upon the foundation of that to establish peace in Christendom.

1. That there is but one true way is agreed upon; and therefore almost every Church of one denomination that lives under government propounds to you a system or collective body of articles, and tells you, *that is* the true *religion*, and *they* are the *Church*, and the peculiar people of God: like *Brutus* and *Cassius*, of whom one says, *Ubicunque ipsi essent, prætexebant esse rempublicam*, they supposed themselves were the commonwealth; and these are the Church, and out of this Church they will hardly allow salvation: but of this there can be no end; for divide the church into twenty parts, and in what part soever your lot falls, you and your party are damned by the other nineteen; and men on all hands almost keep their own proselytes by

by affrighting them with the fearful sermons of damnation: but in the mean time here is no security to them that are not able to judge for themselves, and no peace for them that are.

2. *Others* cast about to cure this evil, and conclude that it must be done by submission to an infallible guide; this must do it or nothing: and this is the way of the Church of *Rome*: follow but the Pope and his clergy and you are safe, at least as safe as their warrant can make you. Indeed this were a very good way, if it were a way at all; but it is none; for this can never end our controversies: not only because the greatest controversies are about this infallible guide; but also because, 1. We cannot find that there is upon earth any such guide at all. 2. We do not find it necessary that there should. 3. We find that they who pretend to be this infallible guide are themselves infinitely deceived. 4. That they do not believe themselves to be infallible whatever they say to us; because they do not put an end to all their own questions that trouble them. 5. Because they have no peace but what is constrained by force and government. 6. And lastly, because if there were such a guide we should fail of truth by many other causes: for it may be that guide would not do his duty; or we are fallible followers of this infallible leader; or we should not understand his meaning at all times, or we should be perverse at some times, or something as bad: because we all confess that God is an infallible guide, and that some way or other he does teach us sufficiently, and yet it does come to pass by our faults that we are as far to seek for peace and truth as ever.

3. *Some* very wise men finding this to fail, have undertaken to reconcile the differences of Christendom by a way of moderation. Thus they have projected to reconcile the *Papists* and the *Lutherans*, the *Lutherans* and the *Calvinists*, the *Remonstants* and *Contra-Remonstrants*, and project that each side should abate

abate of their asperities, and pare away something of their propositions, and join in common terms and phrases of accommodation, each of them sparing something, and promising they shall have a great deal of peace for the exchange of a little of their opinion. This was the way of *Cassander*, *Modrevius*, *Andreas*, *Frisius*, *Erasmus*, *Spalata*, *Grotius*, and indeed of *Charles* the Fifth in part, but something more heartily of *Ferdinand* the Second. This device produced the conferences at *Poissy*, at *Montpellier*, at *Ratisbon*, at the *Hague*, at many places more: and what was the event of these? Their parties when their delegates returned, either disclaimed their moderation, or their respective *princes* had some other ends to serve, or they permitted the meetings upon uncertain hopes, and a trial if any good might come; or it may be they were both in the wrong, and their mutual abatement was nothing but a mutual quitting of what they could not get, and the shaking hands of false friends; or it may be it was all of it nothing but hypocrisy and arts of craftiness, and, like *Lucian*'s man, every one could be a man and a pestle when he pleased. And the Council of *Trent*, though under another cover, made use of the artifice, but made the secret manifest and common: for at this day the *Jesuits* in the questions *de auxiliis divinæ gratiæ* have prevailed with the *Dominicans* to use their expressions, and yet they think they still keep the sentence of their own order. From hence can succeed nothing but folly and a fantastic peace: this is but the skinning of an old score, it will break out upon all occasions.

4. *Others*, who understand things beyond the common rate, observing that many of our controversies and peevish wranglings are kept up by the ill-stating of the question, endeavour to declare things wisely, and make the matter intelligible, and the words clear; hoping by this means to cut off all disputes. Indeed this is a very good way, so far as it can go; and would prevail very

very much, if all men were wise, and would consent to those statings, and would not fall out upon the main inquiry when it were well stated: but we find by a sad experience that few questions are well stated; and when they are, they are not consented to; and when they are agreed on by both sides that they are well stated, it is nothing else but a drawing up the armies in *battalia* with great skill and discipline; the next thing they do is, they thrust their swords into one anothers sides.

5. What remedy after all this? Some other good men have propounded one way yet: but that is a way of peace rather than truth; and that is, that all opinions should be tolerated and none persecuted, and then all the world will be at peace. Indeed this relies upon a great reasonableness; not only because opinions cannot be forced, but because if men receive no hurt it is to be hoped they will do none: but we find that this alone will not do it: for besides that all men are not so just as not to do any injury (for some men begin the evil) besides this (I say) there are very men amongst us who are not content that you permit them; for they will not permit you, but *rule over your faith*, and say that their way is not only true, but necessary; and therefore the truth of God is at stake, and all indifference and moderation is carnal wisdom, and want of zeal for God: nay, more than so, they preach for toleration when themselves are under the rod, who when they got the rod into their own hands thought toleration itself to be intolerable. Thus do the *Papists*, and thus the *Calvinists:* and for their cruelty they pretend charity: they will indeed force you to come in, but it is in true zeal for your soul: and if they do you violence, it is no more than if they pull your arm out of joint, when to save you from drowning they draw you out of a river; and if you complain, it is no more to be regarded than the outcries of children against their rulers, or sick men against

physicians. But as to the thing itself, the truth is, it is better in contemplation than practice: for reckon all that is got by it when you come to handle it, and it can never satisfy for the infinite disorders happening in the government; the scandal to religion, the secret dangers to public societies, the growth of heresy, the nursing up of parties to a grandeur so considerable as to be able in their own time to change the laws and the government. So that if the question be whether mere opinions are to be persecuted, it is certainly true, they ought not. But if it be considered how by opinions men rifle the affairs of kingdoms, it is also as certain, they ought not to be made public and permitted. And what is now to be done? must truth be for ever in the dark, and the world for ever be divided, and societies disturbed, and governments weakened, and our spirits debauched with error and the uncertain opinions and the pedantry of talking men? Certainly there is a way to cure all this evil, and the wise Governor of all the world hath not been wanting in so necessary a matter as to lead us into all truth. But the way hath not yet been hit upon, and yet I have told you all the ways of man and his imaginations in order to truth and peace; and you see these will not do; we can find no rest for the soles of our feet amidst all the waters of contention and disputations, and little artifices of divided schools. *Every man is a liar*, and his understanding is weak, and his propositions uncertain, and his opinions trifling, and his contrivances imperfect, and neither truth nor peace does come from man. I know I am in an auditory of inquisitive persons, whose business is to study for truth, that they may find it for themselves and teach it unto others: I am in a school of prophets and prophet's sons, who all ask *Pilate*'s question, *What is truth?* You look for it in your books, and you tug hard for it in your disputations, and you derive it from the cisterns of the fathers, and you inquire after the old ways, and sometimes are taken with new appearances,

pearances, and you rejoice in false lights, or are delighted with little umbrages and peep of day: but where is there a man, or a society of men, that can be at rest in his inquiry, and is sure he understands all the truths of God? Where is there a man but the more he studies and inquires, still he discovers nothing so clearly as his own ignorance? This is a demonstration that we are not in the right way, that we do not inquire wisely, that our method is not artificial. If men did fall upon the right way, it were impossible so many learned men should be engaged in contrary parties and opinions. We have examined all ways but one, all but God's way: let us (having missed in all the other) try this: let us go to God for truth; for truth comes from God only, and his ways are plain, and his sayings are true, and his promises *yea* and *amen*: and if we miss the truth it is because we will not find it: for certain it is, that all that truth which God hath made necessary, he hath also made legible and plain, and if we will open our eyes we shall see the sun, and if *we will walk in the light, we shall rejoice in the light:* only let us withdraw the curtains, let us remove the *impediments and the sin that doth so easily beset us;* that is God's way. Every man must in his station do that portion of duty which God requires of him, and then he shall be taught of God all that is fit for him to learn: there is no other way for him but this. *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and a good understanding have all they that do thereafter.** And so said *David* of himself, *I have more understanding than my teachers, because I keep thy commandments.*† And this is the only way which Christ hath taught us: if you ask, *What is truth?* you must not do as *Pilate did*, ask the question, and then go away from him that only can give you an answer; for as God is the author of truth, so he is the teacher of it; and

* Psalm. cxi. 10. † Psalm. cxix.

the way to learn it is this of my text: for so saith our blessed Lord, *If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God or no.*

My text is simple as truth itself, but greatly comprehensive, and contains a truth that alone will enable you to understand all *mysteries*, and to expound all *prophesies*, and to interpret all *scriptures*, and to search into all secrets, all (I mean) which concern our happiness and our duty: and it being an affirmative hypothetical, is plainly to be resolved into this proposition, *The way to judge of religion is by doing of our duty; and theology is rather a divine life than a divine knowledge.* In heaven indeed we shall first see, and then love; but here on earth we must first love, and love will open our eyes as well as our hearts, and we shall then see, and perceive, and understand.

In the handling of which proposition I shall first represent to you that *the certain causes of our errors are nothing but direct sins*, nothing makes us fools and ignorants but living vicious lives; and then I shall proceed to the direct demonstration of the article in question, that *holiness is the only way of truth and understanding.*

1. No man understands the *Word of God* as it ought to be understood, unless he lays aside all affections to sin: of which because we have taken very little care, the product hath been that we have had very little wisdom, and very little knowledge in the ways of God. Κακία ἐστὶ φθαρτικὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς, said *Aristotle*, wickedness does corrupt a man's reasoning, it gives him false principles and evil measures of things: the sweet wine that *Ulysses* gave to the *Cyclops* put his eye out; and a man that hath contracted evil affections, and made a league with sin, sees only by those measures. A covetous man understands nothing to be good that is not profitable; and a voluptuous man likes your reasoning well enough if you discourse of *bonum jucundum*, the pleasures of the sense, the ravishments of lust, the

noises and inadvertencies, the mirth and songs of merry company; but if you talk to him of the melancholy lectures of the cross, the content of resignation, the peace of meekness, and the joys of the Holy Ghost, and of rest in God, after your long discourse and his great silence, he cries out, What is the matter? He knows not what you mean: either you must fit his humour, or change your discourse.

I remember that *Arianus* tells of a gentleman that was banished from *Rome*, and in his sorrow visited the philosopher, and he heard him talk wisely, and believed him, and promised him to leave all the thoughts of *Rome* and splendors of the court, and retire to the course of a severe philosophy: but before the good man's lectures were done, there came πιναχίδες ἀπὸ τῦ Καίσαρος, letters from *Cæsar* to recall him home, to give him pardon, and promise him great employment: he presently grew weary of the good man's *sermon*, and wished he would make an end, thought his discourse was dull and flat; for his head and heart were full of another story and new principles; and by these measures he could hear only and he could understand.

Every man understands by his affections more than by his reason: and when the *wolf* in the fable went to school to learn to spell, whatever letters were told him, he could never make any thing of them but *agnus;* he thought of nothing but his belly: and if a man be very hungry, you must give him meat before you give him counsel. A man's mind must be like your proposition before it can be entertained: for whatever you put into a man it will smell of the vessel: it is a man's mind that gives the emphasis, and makes your argument to prevail.

And upon this account it is that there are so many false doctrines in the only article of repentance. Men know they must repent, but the definition of repentance they take from the convenience of their own affairs; what they will not part with, that is not necessary

cessary to be parted with, and they will repent, but not restore: they will say *nollem factum*, they wish they had never done it; but since it is done, you must give them leave to rejoice in their purchase: they will ask forgiveness of God; but they sooner forgive themselves, and suppose that God is of their mind: if you tie them to hard terms, your doctrine is not to be understood, or it is but one doctor's opinion, and therefore they will fairly take their leave, and get them another teacher.

What makes these evil, these dangerous and desperate doctrines? Not the obscurity of the thing, but the cloud upon the heart; for say you what you will, he that hears must be the expounder, and we can never suppose but a man will give sentence in behalf of what he passionately loves. And so it comes to pass that as *Rabbi Moses* observed, that God for the greatest sin imposed the least oblation, as a she-goat for the sin of idolatry; for a woman accused of adultery, a barley cake: so do most men; they think to expiate the worst of their sins with a trifling, with a pretended, little, insignificant repentance. God indeed did so, that the cheapness of the oblation might teach them to hope for pardon; not from the ceremony, but from a severe internal repentance: but men take any argument to lessen their repentance, that they may not lessen their pleasures or their estates, and that repentance may be nothing but a word, and mortification signify nothing against their pleasures, but be a term of art only, fitted for the schools or for the pulpit, but nothing relative to practice, or the extermination of their sin. So that it is no wonder we understand so little of religion: it is because we are in love with that which destroys it; and as a man does not care to hear what does not please him, so neither does he believe it; he cannot, he will not understand it.

And the same is the case in the matter of *pride;* the church hath extremely suffered by it in many ages. *Arius*

Arius missed a bishopric, and therefore turned heretic; ἐτάραττε την Ἐκκλησίαν, saith the story, he disturbed and shook the church; for he did not understand this truth, [*That the peace of the church was better than the satisfaction of his person, or the promoting his foolish opinion.*] And do not we see and feel that at this very day the pride of men makes it seem impossible for many persons to obey their superiors? and they do not see what they can read every day, that it is a sin *to speak evil of dignities.*

A man would think it a very easy thing to understand the 13th chapter to the *Romans, Whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God:* and yet we know a generation of men to whom these words were so obscure, that they thought it lawful to fight against their *King.* A man would think it easy to believe that those who were *in the gainsaying of Corah,* who rose up against the High Priest, were in a very sad condition: and yet there are too many amongst us who are in the gainsaying of *Corah,* and think they do very well; that they are the *godly party,* and the good people of God. Why? what is the matter? In the world there can be nothing plainer than these words, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,* and that you need not make a scruple who are these higher powers, it is as plainly said, *there is no power but of God;* all that are set over you by the laws of your nation, these are *over you in the Lord:* and yet men will not understand these plain things; they deny to do their notorious duty, and yet believe they are in the right, and if they sometimes obey *for wrath,* they oftener disobey for *conscience sake.* Where is the fault? The words are plain, the duty is certain, the book lies open; but, alas! *it is sealed within,* that is, *men have eyes and will not see, ears and will not hear.* But the wonder is the less; for we know when God said to *Jonas, Docst thou well to be angry?* he answered God to his face, *I do well to be angry even unto the death.*

Let

Let God declare his mind never so plainly, if men will not lay aside the evil principle that is within, their open love to their secret sin, they may kill an apostle, and yet be so ignorant as to *think they do God good service*; they may disturb kingdoms, and break the peace of a well-ordered church, and rise up against their fathers, and be cruel to their brethren, and stir up the people to sedition; and all this with a cold stomach and a hot liver, with a hard heart and a tender conscience, with humble carriage and a proud spirit. For thus men hate repentance, because they scorn to confess an error; they will not return to peace and truth, because they fear to lose the good opinion of the people whom themselves have cozened; they are afraid to be good, lest they should confess they have formerly done amiss: and he that observes how much evil is done, and how many heresies are risen, and how much obstinacy and unreasonable perseverance in folly dwells in the world upon the stock of pride, may easily conclude that no learning is sufficient to make a proud man understand the truth of God, unless he first learn to be humble. But *obedite & intelligetis* (saith the prophet) obey and be humble, leave the foolish affections of sin, and then ye shall understand. That is the first particular: all remaining affections to sin hinder the learning and understanding of the things of God.

2. He that means to understand the will of God and the truth of religion, must lay aside *all inordinate affections to the world.* 2. Cor. iii. 14. St. *Paul* complained that there was at *that day a veil upon the hearts of the Jews in the reading of the Old Testament:* they looked for a temporal prince to be their *Messiah*, and their affections and hopes dwelt in secular advantages; and so long as that veil was there, they could not see, and they would not accept the poor despised *Jesus.*

For

For the things of the world, besides that they entangle one another, and make much business, and spend much time, they also take up the attentions of a man's mind, and spend his faculties, and make them trifling and secular with the very handling and conversation. And therefore the *Pythagoreans* taught their disciples χωρισμὸν ἀπὸ τῦ σώματ☉, εις τὸ καλῶς φιλοσοφειν, a separation from the things of the body, if they would purely find out truth and the excellencies of wisdom. Had not he lost his labour that would have discoursed wisely to *Apicius*, and told him of the books of fate and the secrets of the other world, the abstractions of the soul and its brisker immortality, that saints and angels eat not, and that the spirit of a man lives for ever upon wisdom, and holiness and contemplation? The fat glutton would have stared a while upon the preacher, and then have fallen asleep. But if you had discoursed well and knowingly of a lamprey, a large mullet, or a boar, *animal propter convivia natum*, and have sent him a cook from *Asia* to make new sauces, he would have attended carefully, and taken in your discourses greedily. And so it is in the questions and secrets of Christianity: which made St. *Paul*, when he intended to convert *Felix*, discourse first with him about *temperance*, *righteousness*, and *judgment to come*. He began in the right point; he knew it was to no purpose to preach *Jesus Christ* crucified to an intemperate person, to an usurper of other men's rights, to one whose soul dwelt in the world, and cared not for the sentence of the last day. The *philosophers* began their wisdom with the meditation of death, and St. *Paul* his with the discourse of the day of judgment: to take the heart off from this world and the amiabilities of it, which dishonour and baffle the understanding, and made *Solomon* himself become a child and fooled into idolatry, by the prettiness of a talking woman. Men now-a-days love not a religion that will cost them dear. If your doctrine calls

calls upon men to part with any considerable part of their estates, you must pardon them if they cannot believe you; they understand it not. I shall give you one great instance of it.

When we consider the infinite unreasonableness that is in the popish religion, how against common sense their doctrine of transubstantiation is, how against the common experience of human nature is the doctrine of the pope's infallibility, how against Scripture is the doctrine of indulgences and purgatory; we may well think it a wonder that no more men are persuaded to leave such unlearned follies. But then on the other side, the wonder will cease, if we mark how many temporal ends are served by these doctrines. If you destroy the doctrines of purgatory and indulgences you take away the priest's income, and make the *see apostolic* to be poor; if you deny the pope's infallibility, you will despise his authority, and examine his propositions, and discover his failings, and put him to answer hard arguments, and lessen his power: and indeed, when we run through all the propositions of difference between them and us, and see that in every one of them they serve an end of money or of power; it will be very visible that the way to confute them is not by learned disputations, (for we see they have been too long without effect, and without prosperity) the men must be cured of their affections to the world, *ut nudi nudum sequantur crucifixum*, that with naked and divested affections they might follow the naked crucified *Jesus*, and then they would soon learn the truths of God, which till then will be impossible to be apprehended. Ἐν προσποιήσει ἐξηγήσεως τὰ ἑαυτῶ παρεισάγουσιν, men (as St. *Basil* says) when they expound Scripture, always bring in something of themselves: but till there be (as one said ἀνάβασις ἐκ τῆ σπηλαίε, a rising out from their own seats, until they go out from their dark dungeons, they can never see the light of heaven. And how many men are there amongst us who are therefore enemies to the religion, because it seems

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to be against their profit? The argument of *Demetrius* is unanswerable; *by this craft they get their livings*: leave them in their livings, and they will let your religion alone; if not, they think they have reason to speak against it. When men's souls are possessed with the world, their souls cannot be invested with holy truths. Χρὴ ἀπὸ τέτων αὐτην ψυχην ψυχῶσθαι, as St. *Isidor* said: the soul must be informed, *insouled*, or animated with the propositions that you put in, or you shall never do any good, or get disciples to Christ. Now because a man cannot serve to masters; because he cannot vigorously attend two *objects*; because there can be but one soul in any living creature; if the world have got possession, talk no more of your questions, shut your Bibles, and read no more of the words of God to them, for they cannot tell of *the doctrine, whether it be of God, or of the world.* That is is the second particular: worldly affections hinder true understandings in religion.

3. No man, how learned soever, can understand the Word of God, or be at peace in the questions of religion, unless he be *a master over his passions*,

> *Tu quoque si vis lumine claro*
> *Cernere verum, gaudia pelle,*
> *Pelle timorem: Nubila mens est*
> *Vinctáque frænis hæc ubi regnant.*

said the wise *Boethius;* a man must first learn himself before he can learn God. *Tua te fallit imago*: nothing deceives a man so soon as a man's self; when a man is (that I may use *Plato*'s expression) συμπεφυρμένῳ τῇ γενέσει, mingled with his nature and his congenial infirmities of *anger* and *desire*, he can never have any thing but ἀμυδρὸν δόξαν, a knowledge partly moral and partly natural: his whole life is but imagination; his knowledge is inclination and opinion; he judges of heavenly things by the measures of his

his fears and his desires, and his reason is half of it sense, and determinable by the principles of sense. Τοῦτο ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖς ἐν τάθεσι,* then a man learns well when he is a philosopher in his passions. Passionate men are to be taught the first elements of religion: and let men pretend to as much learning as they please, they must begin again at *Christ's Cross;* they must learn true mortification and crucifixion of their anger and desires, before they can be good scholars in Christ's school, or be admitted into the more secret inquiries of religion, or profit in spiritual understanding. It was an excellent proverb of the Jews, *In passionibus Spiritus Sanctus non habitat*, the Holy Ghost never dwells in the house of passion. Truth enters into the heart of man when it is empty and clean, and still; but when the mind is shaken with passion as with a storm, you can never hear the *voice of the charmer, though he charm very wisely:* and you will very hardly sheath a sword when it is held by a loose and a paralytic arm. He that means to learn the secrets of God's wisdom must be, as *Plato* says, τὴν λογικὴν ζωὴν ἀσιωμένῳ, his soul must be consubstantiated with *reason*, not invested with *passion*: to him that is otherwise, things are but in the dark, his notion is obscure and his sight troubled; and therefore though we often meet with passionate fools, yet we seldom or never hear of a very passionate wise man.

I have now done with the first part of my undertaking, and proved to you that our evil life is the cause of our controversies and ignorances in religion and of the things of God. You see what hinders us from becoming good divines. But all this while we are but in the preparation to the mysteries of godliness: when we have thrown off all affections to sin, when we have stripped ourselves from all fond adherences to the things of the world, and have broken the chains and

* Nazianz. ad Philagrium.

dominion

dominion of our passions; then we may say with *David, Ecce paratum est cor meum Deus; my heart is ready, O God, my heart is ready:* then we may say, *Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth:* but we are not yet instructed. It remains therefore that we inquire what is that immediate principle or means by which we shall certainly and infallibly be led into all truth, and be taught the mind of God, and understand all his secrets; and this is worth our knowledge. I cannot say that this will end your labours, and put a period to your studies, and make your learning easy; it may possibly increase your labour, but it will make it profitable; it will not end your studies, but it will direct them; it will not make human learning easy, but it will make it *wise unto salvation*, and conduct it into true notices and ways of wisdom.

I am now to describe to you the right way of knowledge: *Qui facit voluntatem Patris mei* (saith Christ) that is the way: *do God's will, and you shall understand God's word.* And it was an excellent saying of St. *Peter, Add to your faith virtue, &c. If these things be in you and abound, ye shall not be unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.** For in this case it is not enough that all our hindrances of knowledge are removed; for that is but the opening of the covering of the book of God; but when it is opened, it is written with a hand that every eye cannot read. Though the windows of the east be open, yet every eye cannot behold the glories of the sun: Ὀφθαλμὸς μὴ ἡλιοειδὴς γινόμενος ἥλιον οὐ βλέπει, saith *Plotinus;* the eye that is not made solar cannot see the sun; the eye must be fitted to the splendor: and it is not the wit of the man, but the spirit of the man; not so much his head as his heart, that learns the divine philosophy.

1. Now in this inquiry I must take one thing for

* 2 Peter i.

a *præ-*

a *præcognitum*, that every good man is θεοδίδακτος, he is *taught of God*: and indeed unless he teach us, we shall make but ill scholars ourselves, and worse guides to others. *Nemo potest Deum scire, nisi à Deo doceatur*, said St. *Irenæus*, (*lib.* vi. *cap.* 13.) If God teaches us, then all is well; but if we do not learn wisdom at his feet, from whence should we have it? it can come from no other spring. And therefore it naturally follows, that by how much nearer we are to God, by so much better we are like to be instructed.

But this being supposed, as being most evident, we can easily proceed by wonderful degrees and steps of progression in the economy of this divine philosophy: For,

2. There is in every righteous man a new vital principle; the spirit of grace is the spirit of wisdom, and teaches us by secret inspirations, by proper arguments, by actual persuasions, by personal applications, by effects and energies; and as the soul of a man is the cause of all his vital operations, so is the Spirit of God the life of that life, and the cause of all actions and productions spiritual: and the consequence of this is what St. *John* tells us of, *Ye have received the unction from above, and that annointing teacheth you all things*:* all things of some one kind; that is, certainly, *all things that pertain to life and godliness;* all that by which a *man* is wise and happy. We see this by common experience. Unless the soul have a new life put into it, unless there be a vital principle within, unless the spirit of life be the informer of the spirit of the man, the Word of God will be as dead in the operation as the body in its powers and possibilities. *Sol & homo generant hominem*, saith our philosophy: a man alone does not beget a man, but a man and the sun; for without the influence of the celestial bodies all natural actions are ineffective: and so it is in the operations of the soul.

* 1 John ii. 27.

Which

Which principle divers fanatics, both among us and in the Church of *Rome*, misunderstanding, look for new revelations, and expect to be conducted by ecstasy, and will not pray but in a transfiguration, and live upon raptures and extravagant expectations, and separate themselves from the conversation of men by affectations, by new measures and singularities, and destroy order, and despise government, and live upon illiterate phantasms and ignorant discourses. These men do ψευδεσθαι το ἅγιον πνεῦμα, *they belie the Holy Ghost:* for the Spirit of God makes men wise; it is an evil spirit that makes them fools. The Spirit of God makes us *wise unto salvation;* it does not spend its holy influences in disguises and convulsions of the understanding: God's Spirit does not destroy reason, but heightens it; he never disorders the beauties of government, but is a God of Order; it is the spirit of humility, and teaches no pride; he is to be found in churches and pulpits, upon altars, and in the doctor's chairs; not in conventicles, and mutinous corners of a house: he goes in company with his own ordinances, and makes progressions by the measures of life; his infusions are just as our acquisitions, and his graces pursue the methods of nature: that which was imperfect he leads on to perfection, and that which was weak he makes strong: he opens the heart, not to receive murmurs, or to attend to secret whispers, but to hear the Word of God; and then he opens the heart, and creates a new one; and without this new creation, this new principle of life, we may hear the Word of God, but we can never understand it; we hear the sound, but are never the better; unless there be in our hearts a secret conviction by the Spirit of God, the gospel itself is a dead letter, and worketh not in us the light and righteousness of God.

Do not we see this by daily experience? Even those things which a good man and an evil man know, they do

do not know them both alike. A wicked man does know that good is lovely, and sin is of an evil and destructive nature; and when he is reproved, he is convinced; and when he is observed, he is ashamed; and when he has done, he is unsatisfied; and when he pursues his sin, he does it in the dark. Tell him he shall die, and he sighs deeply, but he knows it as well as you: proceed, and say, that after death comes judgment, and the poor man believes and trembles; he knows that God is angry with him; and if you tell him that for ought he knows he may be in hell to-morrow, he knows that it is an intolerable truth, but it is also undeniable: and yet after all this, he runs to commit his sin with as certain an event and resolution as if he knew no argument against it: these notices of things terrible and true pass through his understanding as an eagle through the air; as long as her flight lasted the air was shaken, but there remains no path behind her.

Now since at the same time we see other persons, not so learned it may be, not so much versed in Scriptures, yet they say a thing is good and lay hold of it; they believe glorious things of heaven, and they live accordingly, as men that believe themselves; half a word is enough to make them understand; a nod is a sufficient reproof; the crowing of a cock, the singing of a lark, the dawning of the day, and the washing their hands, are to them competent memorials of religion, and warnings of their duty. What is the reason of this difference? They both read the Scriptures, they read and hear the same sermons, they have capable understandings, they both believe what they hear and what they read, and yet the event is vastly different. The reason is that which I am now speaking of; the one understands by one principle, the other by another; the one understands by nature, and the other by grace; the one by human learning, and the other by divine; the one reads the Scriptures without, and the other within; the one understands as a son of man, the other

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as a son of God; the one perceives by the proportions of the world, and the other by the measures of the spirit; the one understands by reason, and the other by love; and therefore he does not only understand the sermons of the spirit, and perceives their meaning; but he pierces deeper, and knows the meaning of that meaning; that is, the secret of the spirit, that which is spiritually discerned, that which gives life to the proposition, and activity to the soul. And the reason is, because he hath a divine principle within him, and a new understanding; that is plainly, he hath love, and that is more than knowledge; as was rarely well observed by St. *Paul, Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth;* that is, charity makes the best scholars. No sermons can edify you, no Scriptures can build you up a holy building to God, unless the love of God be in your hearts, and *purify your souls from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit.*

But so it is in the regions of stars, where a vast body of fire is so divided by excentric motions, that it looks as if nature had parted them into orbs and round shells of plain and purest materials: but where the cause is simple, and the matter without variety, the motions must be uniform; and in heaven we should either espy no motion, or no variety. But God, who designed the heavens to be the causes of all changes and motions here below, hath placed his angels in their houses of light, and given to every one of his appointed officers a portion of the fiery matter to circumagitate and roll; and now the wonder ceases: for if it be inquired why this part of the fire runs eastward, and the other to the south, they being both indifferent to either, it is because an angel of God sits in the centre, and makes the same matter turn, not by the bent of its own mobility and inclination, but in order to the needs of man, and the great purposes of God: and so it is in the understandings of men; when they all receive the same notions, and are taught by the

same master, and give full consent to all the propositions, and can of themselves have nothing to distinguish them in the events, it is because God has sent his divine spirit, and kindles a new fire, and creates a braver capacity, and applies the actives to the passives, and blesses their operation; for there is in the heart of man such a dead sea, and an indisposition to holy flames, like as in the cold rivers in the north, so as the fires will not burn them, and the sun itself will never warm them, till God's holy Spirit does from the temple of the *New Jerusalem* bring a holy flame, and make it shine and burn.

The natural man (saith the holy apostle) *cannot perceive the things of the spirit; they are foolishness unto him;* for *they are spiritually discerned:* * for he that discourses of things by the measures of sense, thinks nothing good but that which is delicious to the palate, or pleases the brutish part of man; and therefore while he estimates the secrets of religion by such measures, they must needs seem as insipid as cork, or the uncondited mushroom; for they have nothing at all of that in their constitution. A voluptuous person is like the dogs of *Sicily*, so filled with the deliciousness of plants that grow in every furrow and hedge, that they can never keep the scent of their game. Ἀδύναλον ἀναμίξαι ὕδατι πῦρ· ἕτως ὄιμαι τρυφην και καλάνυξιν, said St. *Chrysostom:* the fire and water can never mingle; so neither can sensuality, and the watchfulness and wise discerning of the spirit. *Pilato interroganti de veritate, Christus non respondit;* when the wicked governor asked of Christ concerning truth, Christ gave him no answer: he was not fit to hear it.

He therefore who so understands the words of God, that he not only believes but loves the proposition; he who consents with all his heart, and being convinced of the truth does also apprehend the necessity, and

* 1 Cor. ii. 14.

obeys

obeys the precept, and delights in the discovery, and lays his hand upon his heart, and reduces the notices of things to the practice of duty; he who dares trust his proposition, and drives it on to the utmost issue, resolving to go after it whithersoever it can invite him; this man walks in the spirit; at least thus far he is gone towards it; his understanding is brought *in obsequium Christi*, into the obedience of Christ. This is a *loving God with all our mind;* and whatever goes less than this, is but memory, and not understanding; or else such notice of things by which a man is neither the wiser nor the better.

3. Sometimes God gives to his choicest, his most elect and precious Servants, a knowledge even of secret things, which he communicates not to others. We find it greatly remarked in the case of *Abraham*, Gen. xviii. 17. *And the Lord said, shall I hide from* Abraham *that thing that I do?* Why not from *Abraham?* God tells us, *ver.* xix. *For I know him, that he will command his children and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord, to do justice and judgment.* And though this be irregular and infrequent, yet it is a reward of their piety, and the proper increase also of the spiritual man. We find this spoken by God to *Daniel*, and promised to be the lot of the righteous man in the days of the *Messias;* Dan. xii. 10. *Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; but the wicked shall do wickedly:* and what then? *None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand.* Where besides that the wise man and the wicked are opposed, plainly signifying that the wicked man is a fool and an ignorant; it is plainly said that *None of the wicked shall understand* the wisdom and mysteriousness of the kingdom of the *Messias.*

4. A *good life* is the best way to understand wisdom and religion, because by the experiences and relishes of religion there is conveyed to them such a

sweetness, to which all wicked men are strangers: there is in the things of God to them which practise them a deliciousness that makes us love them, and that love admits us into God's cabinet, and strangely clarifies the understanding by the purification of the heart. For when our reason is raised up by the spirit of Christ, it is turned quickly into experience; when our faith relies upon the principles of Christ, it is changed into vision; and so long as we know God only in the ways of man, by contentious learning, by arguing and dispute, we see nothing but the shadow of him, and in that shadow we meet with many dark appearances, little certainty, and much conjecture: but when we know him λόγῳ ἀποφαντικῷ, γαλήνῃ νοερᾷ, with the eyes of holiness, and the intuition of gracious experiences, with a quiet spirit and the peace of enjoyment; then we shall hear what we never heard, and see what our eyes never saw; then the mysteries of godliness shall be opened unto us, and clear as the windows of the morning: and this is rarely well expressed by the apostle, *If we stand up from the dead and awake from sleep, then Christ shall give us light.**

For although the Scriptures themselves are written by the Spirit of God, yet they are written within and without: and besides the light that shines upon the face of them, unless there be a light shining within our hearts, unfolding the leaves, and interpreting the mysterious sense of the Spirit, convincing our consciences and preaching to our hearts; to look for Christ in the leaves of the gospel, is to look for the living amongst the dead. There is a life in them, but that life is (according to St. *Paul*'s expression) *hid with Christ in God:* and unless the spirit of God be the *promocondus*, we shall never draw it forth.

Human learning brings excellent ministeries towards this: it is admirably useful for the reproof of

* Eph. v. 14.

heresies,

heresies, for the detection of fallacies, for the letter of the scripture, for collateral testimonies, for exterior advantages; but there is something beyond this, that *human* learning without the addition of *divine* can never reach. *Moses* was learned in all the learning of the *Egyptians;* and the holy men of God contemplated the glories of God in the admirable order, motion and influences of the heaven: but besides all this, they were taught of God something far beyond these prettinesses. *Pythagoras* read *Moses*'s books, and so did *Plato;* and yet they became not proselytes of the religion, though they were learned scholars of such a master. The reason is, because that which they drew forth from thence was not the life and secret of it.

Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses.

There is a secret in these books, which few men, none but the godly, did understand: and though much of this secret is made manifest in the gospel, yet even here also there is a *letter* and there is a *spirit:* still there is a reserve for God's secret ones, even all those deep mysteries which the Old Testament covered in figures, and stories, and names, and prophecies, and which Christ hath, and by his spirit will yet reveal more plainly to all that will understand them by their proper measures. For although the gospel is infinitely more legible and plain than the obscurer leaves of the law, yet there is a seal upon them also; *which seal no man shall open but he that is worthy.* We may understand something of it by the three children of the captivity; they were all skilled in all the wisdom of the *Chaldees,* and so was *Daniel:* but there was something beyond that in him; *the wisdom of the most high God was in him,* and that taught him a learning beyond his learning.

In all Scripture there is a spiritual sense, a spiritual *cabala,* which as it tends directly to holiness, so it

it is best and truest understood by the sons of the spirit, who love God, and therefore know him. Γνῶσις ἐκάστων δι' ὁμοιότητα γίνεται, every thing is best known by its own similitudes and analogies.

But I must take some other time to speak fully of these things. I have but one thing more to say, and then I shall make my applications of this doctrine, and so conclude.

5. Lastly, there is a sort of God's dear servants who walk in perfectness, who *perfect holiness in the fear of God;* and they have a degree of clarity and divine knowledge more than we can discourse of, and more certain than the demonstrations of geometry, brighter than the sun, and indeficient as the light of heaven. This is called by the apostle the ἀπαύγασμα τῆ θεῦ Christ is this brightness of God, manifested in the hearts of his dearest servants.

> Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐς καθαρῶν μερόπων φρένα πυρσὸν ἀνάπτω
> Ἐυμαθίης.——

But I shall say no more of this at this time, for this is to be felt and not to be talked of; and they that never touched it with their finger, may secretly perhaps laugh at it in their heart, and be never the wiser. All that I shall now say of it is, that a good man is united unto God κέντρον κέντρῳ συνάψας, as a flame touches a flame, and combines into splendor and to glory: so is the spirit of a man united unto Christ by the Spirit of God. These are the friends of God, and they best know God's mind, and they only that are so know how much such men do know. They have a special *unction from above:* so that now you are come to the top of all; this is the highest round of the ladder, and the angels stand upon it: they dwell in love and contemplation, they worship and obey, but dispute not: and our quarrels and impertinent wranglings about religion are nothing else but the want of the measures

measures of this state. Our light is like a candle, every wind of vain doctrine blows it out, or spends the wax, and makes the light tremulous; but the lights of heaven are fixed and bright, and shine for ever.

But that we may speak not only things mysterious, but things intelligible; how does it come to pass, by what means and what economy is it effected, that a holy life is the best determination of all questions, and the surest way of knowledge? Is it to be supposed that a godly man is better enabled to determine the questions of purgatory or transubstantiation? Is the gift of chastity the best way to reconcile *Thomas* and *Scotus?* and is a temperate man always a better scholar than a drunkard? To this I answer, that in all things in which true wisdom consists, holiness, which is the best wisdom, is the surest way of understanding them. And this,

1. Is effected by holiness as a proper and natural instrument: for naturally every thing is best discerned by its proper light and congenial instrument.

Γαίῃ μὲν λὰρ γαῖαν ὀπώπαμεν, ὕδατι δ' ὕδωρ.

For as the eye sees visible objects, and the understanding perceives the intellectual; so does the spirit the things of the spirit. *The natural man* (saith St. *Paul*) *knows not the things of God, for they are spiritually discerned:* that is, they are discovered by a proper light, and concerning these things an unsanctified man discourses pitifully, with an imperfect *idea*, as a blind man does of light and colours which he never saw.

A good man, though unlearned in secular notices, is like the windows of the temple, narrow without and broad within: he sees not so much of what profits not abroad, but whatsoever is within, and concerns religion and the glorifications of God, that he sees with a broad

a broad inspection: but all human learning without God is but blindness and ignorant folly.

But when it is δικαιοσύνη βεβαμμένη εις βάθη τῆς ἀληθειας, righteousness dipt in the wells of truth, it is like an eye of gold in a rich garment, or like the light of heaven, it shews itself by its own splendor. What learning is it to discourse of the philosophy of the sacrament, if you do not feel the virtue of it? and the man that can with eloquence and subtlety discourse of the instrumental efficacy of baptismal waters, talks ignorantly in respect of him who hath *the answer of a good conscience* within, and is cleansed by the purifications of the Spirit. If the question concern any thing that can perfect a man and make him happy, all that is the proper knowledge and notice of the good man. How can a wicked man understand the purities of the heart? and how can an evil and unworthy communicant tell what it is to have received Christ by faith, to dwell with him, to be united to him, to receive him in his heart? The good man only understands that: the one sees the colour, and the other feels the substance; the one discourses of the sacrament, and the other receives Christ; the one discourses for or against transubstantiation, but the good man feels himself to be changed and so joined to Christ, that he only understands the true sense of transubstantiation, while he becomes to Christ bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh, and of the same spirit with his Lord.

We talk much of reformation, and (blessed be God) once we have felt the good of it: but of late we have smarted under the name and pretension: the woman that lost her groat, *everrit domum*, not *evertit;* she swept the house, she did not turn the house out of doors. That was but an ill reformation that untiled the roof and broke the walls, and was digging down the foundation.

Now

Now among all the pretensions of reformation, who can tell better what is, and what is not, true reformation than he that is truly reformed himself? He knows what pleases God, and can best tell by what instruments he is reconciled. *The mouth of the just bringeth forth wisdom; and the lips of the righteous know what is acceptable,** saith *Solomon.* He cannot be cozened by names of things, and feels that reformation to be imposture that is sacrilegious: himself is humble and obedient, and therefore knows that is not truth that persuades to schism and disobedience: and most of the questions of Christendom are such which either are good for nothing, and therefore to be laid aside; or if they be complicated with action, and are ministeries of practice, no man can judge them so well as the spiritual man. *That which best pleases God, that which does good to our neighbour, that which teaches sobriety, that which combines with government, that which speaks honour of God and does him honour,* that only is truth. Holiness therefore is a proper and natural instrument of divine knowledge, and must needs be the best way of instruction in the questions of Christendom, because in the most of them a duty is complicated with the proposition.

No man that intends to live holily can ever suffer any pretences of religion to be made to teach him to fight against his king. And when the men of *Geneva* turned their bishop out of doors, they might easily have considered that the same person was their prince too; and that must needs be a strange religion that rose up against *Moses* and *Aaron* at the same time: but that hath been the method ever since. There was no church till then was ever governed without an apostle or a bishop: and since then, they who go from their bishop have said very often to their king too, *Nolumus hunc regnare:* and when we see men pre-

* Prov. x. 31, 32.

tending

tending religion, and yet refuse to own the king's supremacy, they may upon the stock of holiness easily reprove their own folly, by considering that such recusancy does introduce into our churches the very worst, the most intolerable parts of popery: for *perfect submission to* Kings *is the glory of the* Protestant *cause:* and really the reprovcable doctrines of the Church of *Rome* are by nothing so much confuted, as that they destroy good life by consequent and evident deduction; as by an induction of particulars were easy to make apparent, if this were the proper season for it.

2. Holiness is not only an advantage to the learning all wisdom and holiness, but for the discerning that which is wise and holy from what is trifling and useless, and contentious; and to one of these heads all questions will return: and therefore in all, from holiness we have the best instructions. And this brings me to the next particle of the general consideration. For that which we are taught by the holy Spirit of God, this *new nature*, this *vital principal* within us, it is that which is worth our learning; not vain and empty idle and insignificant notions, in which when you have laboured till your eyes are fixed in their orbs, and your flesh unfixed from its bones, you are no better and no wiser. If the Spirit of God be your teacher, he will teach you such truths as will make you know and love God, and become like to him, and enjoy him for ever, by passing from similitude to union and eternal fruition. But what are you the better if any man should pretend to teach you whether every angel makes a *species?* and what is the individuation of the soul in the state of separation? What are you the wiser if you should study and find out what place *Adam* should for ever have lived in if he had not fallen? and what is any man the more learned if he hears the disputes, whether *Adam* should have multiplied children in the state of innocence, and what would have been the event of things if one child had been born before his father's sin.

Too

Too many scholars have lived upon air and empty notions for many ages past, and troubled themselves with tying and untying knots, like *hypochondriacs* in a fit of melancholy, think of *nothing*, and troubling themselves with *nothing*, and falling out about *nothings*, and being very wise and very learned in things that are not and work not, and were never planted in *Paradise* by the finger of God. Men's notions are too often like the mules, begotten by equivocal and unnatural generations ; but they make no *species :* they are begotten, but they can beget nothing ; they are they effects of long study, but they can do no good when they are produced : they are not that which *Solomon* calls *viam intelligentiæ, the way of understanding.* If the Spirit of God be our teacher, we shall learn to avoid evil, and to do good, to be wise and to be holy, to be profitable and careful : and they that walk in this way shall find more peace in their consciences, more skill in the Scriptures, more satisfaction in their doubts, than can be obtained by all the polemical and impertinent disputations of the world. And if the Holy Spirit can teach us how vain a thing it is to do foolish things, he also will teach us how vain a thing it is to trouble the world with foolish questions, to disturb the church for interest or pride, to resist government in things indifferent, to spend the people's zeal in things unprofitable, to make religion to consist in outsides, and opposition to circumstances and trifling regards. No, no, the man that is wise, he that is conducted by the Spirit of God, knows better in what Christ's kingdom does consist, than to throw away his time and interest, and peace and safety ; for what ? for religion ? no : for the body of religion ; not so much : for the garment of the body of religion? no, not for so much ; but for the *fringes* of the *garment* of the *body of religion ;* for such and no better are the disputes that trouble our discontented brethren ; they are *things*, or rather *circumstances* and *manners* of *things*, in which the soul and spirit is not at all concerned.

3. Holiness

3. Holiness of life is the best way of finding out truth and understanding; not only as a *natural medium*, or not only as a *prudent medium*, but as a *means by way of divine blessing*. *He that hath my commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me: and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him.** Here we have a promise for it; and upon that we may rely.

The old man that confuted the *Arian* priest by a plain recital of his *creed*, found a mighty power of God effecting his own work by a strange manner, and by a very plain instrument: it wrought a divine blessing just as sacraments used to do: and this lightning sometimes comes in a strange manner as a peculiar blessing to good men. For God kept the secrets of his kingdom from the wise heathens and the learned *Jews*, revealing them to babes, not because they had less learning, but because they had more love; they were children and babes in *malice*, they loved Christ, and so he became to them a light and a glory. St. *Paul* had more learning then they all; and *Moses* was instructed in all the learning of the *Egyptians*: yet because he was the meekest man upon earth, he was also the wisest, and to his human learning, in which he was excellent, he had a divine light and excellent wisdom superadded to him by way of spiritual blessing. And St. *Paul*, though he went very far to the knowledge of many great and excellent truths by the force of human learning, yet he was far short of perfective truths and true wisdom till he learned a new lesson in a new school, at the feet of one greater than his *Gamaliel*: his learning grew much greater, his notions brighter, his skill deeper, by the love of Christ, and his desires, his passionate desires after *Jesus*.

The force and use of human learning, and of this

* John xiv. 21.

divine

divine learning I am now speaking of, are both well expressed by the prophet *Isaiah*, xxix. 11, 12. *And the vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, read this, I pray thee: and he saith I cannot, for it is sealed. And the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, read this, I pray thee: and he saith I am not learned.* He that is no learned man, who is not bred up in the schools of the prophets, cannot read God's book for want of learning. For human learning is the gate and first entrance of divine vision; not the only one indeed, but the common gate. But beyond this, there must be another learning; for he that is learned, bring the book to him and you are not much the better as to the secret part of it, if the book be sealed, if his eyes be closed, if his heart be not opened, if God does not speak to him in the secret way of discipline. Human learning is an excellent foundation; but the top-stone is laid by love and conformity to the will of God. For we may further observe, that blindness, error, and ignorance, are the punishments which God sends upon wicked and ungodly men. *Etiamsi propter nostræ intelligentiæ tarditatem & vitæ demeritum veritas nondum se apertissime ostenderit*, was St. *Austin*'s expression, the truth hath not yet been manifested fully to us, *by reason of our demerits:* our sins have hindered the brightness of the truth from shining upon us. And St. *Paul* observes, that when the heathens gave themselves *over to lusts, God gave them over to strong delusions, and to believe a lie.** But *God giveth to a man that is good in his sight, wisdom and knowledge, and joy,*† said the wise *preacher*. But this is most expressly promised in the New Testament, and particularly in that admirable *sermon* which our blessed Saviour preached a little before his death. *The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost,*

* Rom. i. 25, 26. † Eccl. ii. 26.

whom

*whom the Father, will send in my name, he shall teach you all things.** Well: there is our teacher told of plainly: but how shall we obtain this teacher, and how shall we be taught? v. 15, 16, 17. Christ will pray for us that we may have this Spirit. That is well: but shall all Christians have the Spirit? Yes, all that will live like Christians: for so said Christ, *If ye love me, keep my commandments; and I will pray the Father, and he will give you another comforter, that may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeeth him not, neither knoweth him.* Mark these things. The Spirit of God is our teacher: he will abide with us for ever to be our teacher: he will teach us all things; but how? *if ye love Christ*, if ye keep his commandments, but not else: if ye be of the world, that is of worldly affections, ye cannot see him, ye cannot know him. And this is the particular I am now to speak to, the way by which the Spirit of God teaches us in all the ways and secrets of God, is love and holiness.

Secreta Dei Deo nostra & filiis domus ejus, God's secrets are to himself and the sons of his house, saith the *Jewish* proverb. Love is the great instrument of divine knowledge, that is the ὕψημα των διδασκομένων, the height of all that is to be taught or learned. Love is obedience, and we learn the words best when we practise them: ἃ γὰρ δει μανθάνοντας ποιειν, ταῦτα ποιοῦντες μανθάνομεν,, said *Aristotle*;† those things which they that learn ought to practise, even while they practise they will best learn. *Quisquis non venit, profectò nec didicit: ita enim Dominus docet per Spiritus gratiam, ut quod quisque didicerit, non tantum cognoscendo videat, sed etiam volendo appetat & agento perficiat.* St. *Austin, De gratia Christi, lib.* 1. *c.* 14.‡ Unless

* John xiv. 26. † Lib. 2. Ethic. c. 1

‡ Nullum bonum perfectè noscitur quod non perfectè amatur. Aug. lib. 83. Qu. de gratia Christi.

we come to Christ, we shall never learn: for so our blessed Lord teaches us by the grace of his Spirit, that what any one learns, he not only sees it by knowledge, but desires it by choice, and perfects it by practice.

4. When this is reduced to practice and experience, we find not only in things of practice, but even in deepest mysteries, not only the choicest and most eminent saints, but even every good man can best tell what is true, and best reprove an error.

He that goes about to speak of and to understand the *mysterious Trinity*, and does it by words and names of man's invention, or by such which signify contingently, if he reckons this mystery by the mythology of numbers, by the *cabala* of letters, by the distinctions of the school, and by the weak inventions of disputing people; if he only talks of essences and existences, hypostases and personalities, distinctions without difference, and priority in coequalities, and unity in pluralities, and of superior prædicates of no larger extent than the inferior subjects, he may amuse himself, and find his understanding will be like St. *Peter*'s upon the mount of *Tabor* at the transfiguration: he may build three tabernacles in his head, and talk something, but he knows not what. But the good man that feels the *power of the Father*, and he to whom the Son is become *wisdom*, *righteousness*, *sanctification*, and *redemption*; he in *whose heart the love of the Spirit of God is spread*, to whom God hath communicated the *Holy Ghost*, the *Comforter*; this man, though he understands nothing of that which is unintelligible, yet *he only* understands the mysteriousness of the Holy Trinity. No man can be convinced well and wisely of the article of the *holy*, *blessed*, and *undivided Trinity*, but he that feels the mightiness of the Father begetting him to *a new life*, the wisdom of the Son *building him up in a most holy faith*,

faith, and the *love of the Spirit of God* making him to become like unto God.

He that hath passed from his childhood in grace under the spiritual generation of the *Father*, and is gone forward to be a *young man* in Christ, strong and vigorous in holy actions and holy undertakings, and from thence is become an old disciple, and strong and grown old in religion, and the conversation of the Spirit; this man best understands the secret and undiscernable economy, he feels this unintelligible mystery, and sees with his heart what his tongue can never express, and his metaphysics can never prove. In these cases faith and love are the best knowledge, and *Jesus Christ* is best known by *the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ;* and if the kingdom of God be *in us*, then we know God, and are known of him; and when we communicate of the Spirit of God, when we pray for him, and have received him, and entertained him, and dwelt with him, and warmed ourselves by his holy fires, then we know him too: but there is no other satisfactory knowledge of the blessed *Trinity* but this: and therefore whatever thing is spoken of God *metaphysically*, there is no knowing of God *theologically*, and as he ought to be known, but by the measures of holiness, and the proper light of the Spirit of *God*.

But in this case experience is the best learning, and Christianity is the best institution, and the Spirit of God is the best teacher, and holiness is the greatest wisdom; and he that sins most is the most ignorant, and the humble and obedient man is the best scholar: *For the Spirit of God is a loving Spirit, and will not enter into a polluted soul: but he that keepeth the law getteth the understanding thereof, and the perfection of the fear of the Lord is wisdom,** said the wise *Ben-Sirach*. And now give me leave to apply

* Ecclus. xxi. 11.

the

the doctrine to you, and so I shall dismiss you from this attention.

Many ways have been attempted to reconcile the differences of the church in matters of religion, and all the counsels of man have yet proved ineffective: let us now try God's method, let us betake ourselves to live holily, and then the Spirit of God will lead us into all truth. And indeed *it matters not what religion any man is of, if he be a villain*; the opinion of his sect, as it will not save his soul, so neither will it do good to the public: but this is a sure rule, if the holy man best understands wisdom and religion, then by the proportions of holiness we shall best measure the doctrines that are obtruded to the disturbance of our peace, and the dishonour of the gospel. And therefore,

1. That is no good religion whose principles destroy any duty of religion. He that shall maintain it to be lawful to make a *war* for the defence of his *opinion*, be it what it will, his doctrine is against godliness. Any thing that is proud, any thing that is peevish and scornful, any thing that is uncharitable, is against the ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία, that *form of sound doctrine* which the apostle speaks of: and I remember that *Ammianus Marcellinus* telling of *George*, a proud and factious minister, that he was an informer against his brethren, he says, he did it *oblitus professionis suæ quæ nil nisi justum suadet & lene*; he forgot his profession, which teaches nothing but justice and meekness, kindness, and charity. And however *Bellarmine* and others are pleased to take but indirect and imperfect notice of it, yet *goodness* is the best note of the true church.

2. It is but an ill sign of holiness when a man is busy in troubling himself and his superior in little scruples and fantastic opinions, about things not concerning the life of religion, or the pleasure of God, or the excellencies of the Spirit. A good man knows how to please God, how to converse with him, how to advance

the kingdom of the Lord *Jesus*, to set forward holiness, and the love of God and of his brother; and he knows also that there is no godliness in spending our time and our talk, our hearts and our spirits, about the garments and outsides of religion: and they can ill teach others that do not know that religion does not consist in these things; but obedience may, and *reductively* that is religion: and he that for that which is no part of religion destroys religion directly, by neglecting that duty that is adopted into religion, is a man of fancy and of the world; but he gives but an ill account that he is a man of God, and a son of the Spirit.

Spend not your time in that which profits not; for your labour and your health, your time and your studies are very valuable; and it is a thousand pities to see a diligent and a hopeful person spend himself in gathering cockle-shells and little pebbles, in telling sands upon the shores, and making garlands of useless daisies. Study that which is profitable, that which will make you useful to churches and commonwealths, that which will make you desirable and wise. Only I shall add this to you, that in *learning* there are a variety of things as well as in *religion:* there is mint and cummin, and there are the weighty things of the law; so there are studies more and less useful, and every thing that is useful will be required in its time: and I may in this also use the words of our Blessed Saviour, *These things ought you to* look after, and *not to leave the other* unregarded. But your great care is to be in the things of God and of religion, in holiness and true wisdom, remembering the saying of *Origen*, That the knowledge that arises from goodness is δευτερόν τι πάσης ἀποδείξεως, something that is more certain and more divine than all demonstration, than all other learnings of the world.

3. That is no good religion that disturbs governments, or shakes a foundation of public peace. *Kings* and

and *bishops* are the foundations and the great principles of unity, of peace, and government; like *Rachel* and *Leah* they build up the house of *Israel:* and those blind *Sampsons* that shake these pillars, intend to pull the house down. *My son fear God and the King* saith *Solomon, and meddle not with them that are given to change.* That is not truth that loves changes; and the new-nothings of heretical and schismatical preachers are infinitely far from the blessings of truth.

In the holy language *truth* hath a mysterious name, אמת *Emet*; it consists of three letters, the first and the last and the middlemost of the Hebrew letters; implying to us, that *truth* is first, and will be last, and it is the same all the way, and combines and unites all extremes; it ties all ends together. *Truth is lasting, and ever full of blessing:* for the *Jews* observe that those letters which signify *truth,* are both in the figure and the number quadrate, firm and cubical; these signify a foundation, and an abode for ever. Whereas on the other side, the word which in Hebrew signifies *a lie,* שחר *Secher,* is made of letters whose numbers are imperfect, and their figure pointed and voluble; to signify that *a lie hath no foundation.*

And this very observation will give good light in our questions and disputes: and I give my instance in *episcopal government,* which hath been of so lasting an abode, of so long a blessing, hath its firmament by the principles of Christianity, hath been blessed by the issues of that stabiliment; it hath for sixteen hundred years combined with *monarchy,* and hath been taught by the spirit which hath so long dwelt in God's church, and hath now (according to the promise of *Jesus,* that says *the gates of hell shall never prevail against the church*) been restored amongst us by a heap of miracles; and as it went away, so now it is returned again in the hand of *monarchy,* and in the bosom of our fundamental laws. Now that doctrine must needs be suspected of error, and an intolerable lie, that speaks

against this truth, which hath had so long a testimony from God, and from the wisdom and experience of so many ages, of all our *ancestors*, and all our *laws*.

When the Spirit of God wrote in *Greek*, Christ is called A and Ω; if he had spoken *Hebrew*, he had been called א and ת that is, אמת *Emet*, he is *Truth*, the same yesterday and to day and for ever: and whoever opposes this holy sanction which Christ's Spirit hath sanctified, his word hath warranted, his blessings have endeared, his promises have ratified, and his church hath always kept; he fights against this אמת *Emet*, and *Secher* is his portion; his lot is *a lie*, his portion is there where holiness can never dwell.

And now to conclude, to you, *fathers* and *brethren*, you who are, or intend to be of the *clergy;* you see here the best *compendium* of your studies, the best abbreviature of your labours, the truest method of wisdom, and the infallible, the only way of judging concerning the disputes and questions in *Christendom*. It is not by reading multitudes of books, but by studying the truth of God: it is not by laborious commentaries of the doctors that you can finish your work, but by the expositions of the *Spirit of God:* it is not by the rules of *metaphysics*, but by the proportions of *holiness:* and when all books are read, and all arguments examined, and all authorities alledged, nothing can be found to be true that is unholy. *Give yourselves to reading, to exhortation, and to doctrine*, saith St. *Paul*. *Read* all good books you can; but *exhortation* unto good life is the best instrument, and the best teacher of true *doctrine*, of that which is *according to godliness*.

And let me tell you this, The great learning of the fathers was more owing to their piety than to their skill; more to God than to themselves: and to this purpose is that excellent ejaculation of St. *Chrysostom*,* with

* Lib. de Consummat. seculi intera. Ephrem. Syria.

which

which I will conclude. *O blessed and happy men, whose names are in the book of life, from whom the devils fled, and heretics did fear them, who (by holiness) have stopped the mouths of them that spake perverse things! But I, like* David, *will cry out,* Where are thy loving-kindnesses which have been ever of old? *Where is the blessed choir of* bishops *and* doctors, *who shined like lights in the world, and contained the* word of life? Dulce est meminisse; *their very memory is pleasant. Where is that* Evodias, *the sweet savour of the church, the successor and imitator of the holy apostles? Where is* Ignatius, *in whom God dwelt? Where is St.* Dionysius *the* Areopagite, *that bird of Paradise, that celestial eagle? Where is* Hypolitus, *that good man,* ἀνὴρ χρηστὸς, *that gentle sweet person? Where is great St.* Basil, *a man almost equal to the apostles? Where is* Athanasius, *rich in virtue? Where is* Gregory Nyssen, *that great divine? and* Ephrem *the great* Syrian, *that stirred up the sluggish, and awakened the sleepers, and comforted the afflicted, and brought the young men to discipline; the looking-glass of the religious, the captain of the penitents, the destruction of heresies, the receptacle of graces, the habitation of the Holy Ghost?* These were the men that prevailed against error, because they lived according to truth; and whoever shall oppose you and the truth you walk by, may better be confuted by your lives than by your disputations. Let *your adversaries have no evil thing to say of you,* and then you will best silence them: for all heresies and false doctrines are but like *Myron*'s counterfit cow, it deceived none but beasts; and these can cozen none but the wicked and the negligent, them that love a lie, and live according to it. [But if ye *ye become burning and shining lights;* if ye *do not detain the truth in unrighteousness;* if ye *walk in light and live in the spirit;* your doctrines will be true, and that truth will prevail.] But if ye live wickedly and scandalously,

scandalously, every little schismatic shall put you to shame, and draw disciples after him, and abuse your flocks, and feed them with colocynths and hemloc, and place heresy in the chairs appointed for your religion.

I pray God give you all grace to follow this wisdom, to study this learning, to labour for the understanding of godliness; so your time and your studies, your persons and your labours, will be holy and useful, sanctified and blessed, beneficial to men, and pleasing to God, through him who is the *Wisdom* of the *Father*, who is made to all that love him *wisdom*, and *righteousness*, and *sanctification*, and *redemption: to whom with the Father, &c.*

A SER-

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SERMON

PREACHED IN

CHRIST'S CHURCH, DUBLIN,

JULY 16, 1663.

AT

THE FUNERAL

OF THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN,

LATE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND:

WITH

A SUCCINCT NARRATIVE OF HIS WHOLE LIFE.

SERMON VII.

1 Cor. xv. 23.

But every man in his own order: Christ the first fruits; afterward they that are Christ's at his coming.

THE condition of man in this world is so limited and depressed, so relative and imperfect, that the best things he does he does weakly, and the best things he hath are imperfections in their very constitution. I need not tell how little it is that we know; the greatest indication of this is, that we can never tell how many things we know not: and we may soon span our own knowledge, but

but our ignorance we can never fathom. Our very will, in which mankind pretends to be most noble and imperial, is a direct state of imperfection; and our very liberty of chusing good and evil is permitted to us, not to make us proud, but to make us humble; for it supposes weakness of reason and weakness of love. For if we understood all the degrees of amiability in the service of God, or if we had such love to God as he deserves, and so perfect a conviction as were fit for his services, we could no more deliberate; for liberty of will is like the motion of a magnetic needle toward the north, full of trembling and uncertainty till it were fixed in the beloved point; it wavers as long as it is free, and is at rest when it can chuse no more. And truly what is the hope of man? It is indeed the resurrection of the soul in this world from sorrow and her saddest pressures, and like the twilight to the day, and the harbinger of joy; but still it is but a conjugation of infirmities, and proclaims our present calamity; only because it is uneasy here, it thrusts us forwards toward the light and glory of the resurrection.

For as a worm creeping with her belly on the ground, with her portion and share of *Adam*'s curse, lifts up its head to partake a little of the blessings of the air, and opens the junctures of her imperfect body, and curls her little rings into knots and combinations, drawing up her tail to a neighbourhood of the head's pleasure and motion; but still it must return to abide the fate of its own nature, and dwell and sleep upon the dust: So are the hopes of a mortal man; he opens his eyes and looks upon fine things at a distance, and shuts them again with weakness, because they are too glorious to behold; and the man rejoices because he hopes fine things are staying for him; but his heart aches, because he knows there are a thousand ways to fail and miss of those glories; and though he hopes, yet he enjoys not; he longs, but he possesses not; and must be content with his portion of dust; and being *a worm and no man*

man must lie down in this portion, before he can receive the end of his hopes, the salvation of his soul in the resurrection of the dead. For as death is the end of our lives, so is the resurrection the end of our hopes; and as we die daily, so we daily hope: but death which is the end of our life, is the enlargement of our spirits from hope to certainty, from uncertain fears to certain expectations, from the death of the body to the life of the soul; that is, to partake of the light and life of Christ, to rise to life as he did; for his resurrection is the beginning of ours: He died for us alone, not for himself; but he rose again for himself and us too. So that if he did rise, so shall we; the resurrection shall be universal; good and bad, all shall rise, but not altogether: First Christ, then we that are Christ's; and yet there is a third resurrection, though not spoken of here; but thus it shall be. *The dead of Christ shall rise first;* that is, next to Christ; and after them the wicked shall rise to condemnation.

So that you see here is the sum of affairs treated of in my text: Not whether it be lawful to eat a tortoise or a mushroom, or to tread with the foot bare upon the ground within the octaves of *Easter*. *It is not here inquired* whether angels be material or immaterial; or whether the dwellings of dead infants be within the air or in the regions of the earth; the inquiry here is, Whether we *are to be Christians or no; whether we are to live good lives or no?* or whether it be permitted to us to live with lust or covetousness acted with all the daughters of rapine and ambition? Whether there be any such thing as sin, any judicatory for consciences, any rewards of piety, any difference of good and bad, any rewards after this life? This is the design of these words by proper interpretation: for if men shall die like dogs and sheep, they will certainly live like wolves and foxes: but he that believes the article of the resurrection, hath entertained the greatest demonstration in the world, that nothing can make us happy

happy but the knowledge of God, and conformity to the life and death of the Holy Jesus. Here therefore are the great hinges of all religion: 1. Christ is already risen from the dead. 2. We also shall rise in God's time and our order. Christ is the first fruits. But there shall be a full harvest of the resurrection, and all shall rise. My text speaks only of the resurrection of the just, of them that belong to Christ; explicitly I say of these, and therefore directly of resurrection to life eternal. But because he also says there shall be an order for every man; and yet every man does not belong to Christ; therefore indirectly also he implies the more universal resurrection unto judgment: But this shall be the last thing that shall be done; for according to the proverb of the Jews, *Michael* flies but with one wing, and *Gabriel* with two; God is quick in sending angels of peace, and they fly apace; but the messengers of wrath come slowly: God is more hasty to glorify his servants than to condemn the wicked. And therefore in the story of *Dives* and *Lazarus* we find that the beggar died first; the good man *Lazarus* was first taken away from his misery to his comfort, and afterwards the rich man died: and as the good many times die first, so all of them rise first, as if it were a matter of haste: And as the mothers breasts swell and shoot and long to give food to her babe; so God's bowels did yearn over his banished children, and he longs to cause them to eat and drink in his kingdom. And at last the wicked shall rise unto condemnation, for that must be done too; every man in his own order: first Christ, then Christ's servants, and at last Christ's enemies. The first of these is the great ground of our faith, the second is the consummation of all our hopes: the first is the foundation of God that stands sure, the second is that superstructure that shall never perish: by the first we believe in God unto righteousness, by the second we live in God unto salvation: but the third, for that also is true and must be considered, is

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the great affrightment of all them that live ungodly. But in the whole, Christ's resurrection and ours is the A *and* Ω *of a Christian;* that as *Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and to day, and the same for ever,* so may we in Christ become the morrow of the resurrection, the same or better than yesterday in our natural life; the same body and the same soul tied together in the same essential union, with this only difference, that not nature but grace and glory with an hermetic seal give us a new signature, whereby we shall no more be changed, but like unto Christ our head we shall become the same for ever. Of these I shall discourse in order. 1. That Christ, who is the first fruits, is the first in this order: he is already risen from the dead. 2. We shall all take our turns, we shall die, and as sure as death we shall all rise again. And 3. This very order is effective of the thing itself. That Christ is first risen, is the demonstration and certainty of ours, for because there is an order in this economy, the first in the kind is the measure of the rest. If Christ be the first fruits, we are the whole vintage, and we shall all die in the order of nature, and shall rise again in the order of Christ. They that are Christ's, and are found so at his coming, shall partake of his resurrection. But Christ first, then they that are Christ's: that is the order.

1. Christ is the first fruits; he is already risen from the dead: for he alone could not be held by death. *Free among the dead.*

Φρίξεν σε γέρων τότε Ἅϊδας ὀπαλαιγενὴς,
Καὶ λαοβόρῳ κύων, Ἀνεχάσσαλο βηλᾶ·*

Death was sin's eldest daughter, and the grave-cloaths were her first mantle; but Christ was conqueror over both, and came to take that away, and to disarm this.

* Synes. Hym. 6.

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This was a glory fit for the head of mankind, but it was too great and too good to be easily believed by incredulous and weak-hearted man. It was at first doubted of all that were concerned; but they that saw it had no reason to doubt any longer. But what is that to us who saw it not? Yes, very much, *Valde dubitatum est ab illis, ne dubitaretur à nobis*, saith St. *Augustine*, they doubted very much, that by their confirmation we might be established and doubt no more. *Mary Magdalen* saw him first, and she ran with joy and said *she had seen the Lord, and that he was risen from the dead; but they believed her not: after that divers women together saw him*, and they told it, but had no thanks for their pains, and obtained no credit among the disciples. The two disciples that went to *Emaus* saw him, talked with him, ate with him, and they ran and told it: they told true, but no body believed them: then St. *Peter* saw him, but he was not yet got into the chair of the catholic church; they did not think him infallible, and so they believed him not at all. Five times in one day he appeared; for after all this he appeared to the eleven; they were indeed transported with joy and wonder, but they would scarce believe their own eyes, and though they saw him they doubted. Well, all this was not enough; he was seen also of *James*, and suffered *Thomas* to thrust his hand into his side, and appeared to St. *Paul*, and was seen by *five hundred brethren at once*. So that there is no capacity of mankind, no time, no place, but had an ocular demonstration of his resurrection. He appeared to men and women, to the clergy and the laity, to sinners of both sexes; to weak men and to criminals, to doubters and deniers, at home and abroad, in public and in private, in their houses and their journeys, unexpected and by appointment, betimes in the morning and late at night, to them in conjunction and to them in dispersion, when they did look for him and when they did not; he *appeared upon earth to many, and*

and to St. Paul *and St.* Stephen *from heaven :* so that we can require no greater testimony than all these are able to give us; and they saw for themselves and for us too, that the faith and certainty of the resurrection of *Jesus* might be conveyed to all that shall die and follow Christ in their own order.

Now this being matter of fact, cannot be supposed infinite, but limited to time and place, and therefore to be proved by them who at that time were upon the place; good men and true, simple and yet losers by the bargain, many and united, confident and constant, preaching it all their life, and stoutly maintaining it at their death. Men that would not deceive others, and men that could not be deceived themselves in a matter so notorious and so proved, and so seen; and if this be not sufficient credibility in a matter of fact as this was, then we can have no story credibly transmitted to us, no records kept, no acts of courts, no narratives of the days of old, no traditions of our fathers, no memorials of them in the third generation. Nay, if from these we have not sufficient causes, and arguments of faith, how shall we be able to know the will of heaven upon earth? Unless God do not only tell it once, but always, and not only always to some men, but always to all men: for if some men must believe others, they can never do it in any thing more reasonable than in this; and if we may not trust them in this, then without a perpetual miracle no man could have faith: for faith could never come by hearing, by nothing but by seeing. But if there be any use of history, any faith in men, any honesty in manners, any truth in human intercourse; if there be any use of apostles or teachers, of embassadors or letters, of ears or hearing; if there be any such thing as the grace of faith, that is less than demonstration or intuition, then we may be as sure that Christ the first fruits is already risen, as all these credibilities can make us. But let us take heed; as God hates a lie, so he hates incredulity; an obstinate,

obstinate, a foolish and pertinacious understanding. What we do every minute of our lives in matters of title and great concernment, if we refuse to do it in religion, which yet is to be conducted as all human affairs are, by human instruments and arguments of persuasion proper to the nature of the thing, it is an obstinacy as cross to human reason, as it is to divine faith.

But this article was so clearly proved, that presently it came to pass that men were no longer ashamed of the cross, but it was worn upon breasts, printed in the air, drawn upon foreheads, carried upon banners, put upon crowns imperial, presently it came to pass that the religion of the despised Jesus did infinitely prevail: a religion that taught men to be meek and humble, apt to receive injuries, but unapt to do any; a religion that gave countenance to the poor and pitiful, in a time when riches were adored, and ambition and pleasure had possessed the heart of all mankind; a religion that would change the face of things, and the hearts of men, and break vile habits into gentleness and counsel; that such a religion, in such a time, by the sermons and conduct of fishermen, men of mean breeding and illiberal arts, should so speedily triumph over the philosophy of the world, and the arguments of the subtle, and the sermons of the eloquent; the power of princes and the interests of states, the inclinations of nature and the blindness of zeal, the force of custom and the solicitation of passions, the pleasures of sin and the busy arts of the devil; that is, against wit, and power, superstition and wilfulness, fame and money, nature and empire, which are all the causes in this world that can make a thing impossible; this, this is to be ascribed to the power of God, and is the great demonstration of the resurrection of Jesus. Every thing was an argument for it, and improved it; no objection could hinder it, no enemies destroy it; whatsoever was for them, it made the religion

religion to increase; whatsoever was against them, made it to increase; sun-shine and storms, fair weather or foul, it was all one as to the event of things: for they were instruments in the hands of God, who could make what himself should chuse to be the product of any cause; so that if the Christians had peace, they went abroad and brought in converts; if they had no peace but persecution, the converts came in to them. In prosperity they allured and enticed the world by the beauty of holiness; in affliction and trouble they amazed all men with the splendor of their innocence, and the glories of their patience; and quickly it was that the world became disciple to the glorious *Nazarene*, and men could no longer doubt of the resurrection of Jesus, when it became so demonstrated by the certainty of them that saw it, and the courage of them that died for it, and the multitude of them that believed it; who by their sermons and their actions, by their public offices and discourses, by festivals and eucharists, by arguments of experience and sense, by reason and religion, by persuading rational men, and establishing believing Christians, by their living in the obedience of Jesus, and dying for the testimony of Jesus, have greatly advanced his kingdom, and his power, and his glory, into which he entered after his resurrection from the dead. For he is the first fruits; and if we hope to rise through him, we must confess that himself is first risen from the dead. That is the first particular.

2. There is an order for us also: we also shall rise again:

> *Combustúsque senex tumulo procedit adultus,*
> *Consumens dat membra rogus;* ——

The ashes of old *Camillus* shall stand up sprightly from his urn; and the funeral fires shall produce a new warmth

warmth to the dead bones of all those who died under the arms of all the enemies of the Roman greatness. This is a less wonder than the former: for *admonetur omnis ætas jam fieri posse quod aliquando factum est.* If it was done once, it may be done again; for since it could never have been done but by a power that is infinite, that infinite must also be eternal and indeficient. By the same almighty power which restored life to the dead body of our living Lord, we may all be restored to a new life in the resurrection of the dead.

When man was not, what power, what causes made him to be? whatsoever it was, it did then as great a work as to raise his body to the same being again; and because we know not the method of nature's secret changes, and how we can be fashioned beneath *in secreto terræ*, and cannot handle and discern the possibilities and seminal powers in the ashes of dissolved bones, must our ignorance in philosophy be put in balance against the articles of religion, the hopes of mankind, the faith of nations and the truth of God? and are our opinions of the power of God so low, that our understanding must be his measure; and he shall be confessed to do nothing unless it be made plain in our philosophy? Certainly we have a low opinion of God unless we believe he can do more things than we can understand: but let us hear St. *Paul*'s demonstration; if the corn dies and lives again; if it lays its body down, suffers alteration, dissolution and death, but at the spring rises again in the verdure of a leaf, in the fulness of the ear, in the kidneys of wheat; if it proceeds from little to great, from nakedness to ornament, from emptiness to plenty, from unity to multitude, from death to life: be a Sadducee no more, shame not thy understanding, and reproach not the weakness of thy faith, by thinking that corn can be restored to life, and man cannot; especially since in every creature the obediential capacity is infinite, and cannot

cannot admit degrees; for every creature can be any thing under the power of God, which cannot be less than infinite.

But we find no obscure foot-steps of this mystery even amongst the heathens: *Pliny* reports that *Appion* the grammarian by the use of the plant *Osiris* called *Homer* from his grave; and in *Valerius Maximus* we find that *Ælius Tubero* returned to life when he was seated in his funeral pile; and in *Plutarch*, that *Soleus* after three days burial did live; and in *Valerius*, that *Æris Pamphilius* did so after ten days. And it was so commonly believed, that *Glaucus* who was choaked in a vessel of honey did rise again, that it grew to a proverb; *Glaucus poto melle surrexit; Glaucus* having tasted honey, died and lived again. I pretend not to believe these stories to be true; *but from these instances it may be concluded that* they believed it possible that there should be a resurrection from the dead; and natural reason, and their philosophy did not wholly destroy their hopes and expectation to have a portion in this article.

For God knowing that the great hopes of man, that the biggest endearment of religion, the sanction of private justice, the band of piety and holy courage, *does wholly derive from the article of the resurrection*, was pleased not only to make it credible, but easy and familiar to us; and we so converse every night with the image of death, that every morning we find an argument of the resurrection. *Sleep and death have but one mother, and they have one name in common.*

Soles occidere & redire possunt,
Nobis cum semel occidit lux brevis,
Nox est perpetua una dormienda. Catul.

Charnel-houses are but κοιμητήρια. Cemeteries or sleeping-places, and they that die are fallen asleep,

and the resurrection is but an awakening and standing up from sleep: but in sleep our senses are as fast bound by nature, as our joints are by the grave-cloaths; and unless an *angel of God waken us every morning*, we must confess ourselves as unable to converse with men, as we now are afraid to die and to converse with spirits. But however death itself is no more; it is but darkness and a shadow, a rest and a forgetfulness. *What is there more in death? what is there less in sleep?* For do we not see by experience that nothing of equal loudness does awaken us sooner than a man's voice, especially if he be called by name? and thus also it shall be in the resurrection: we shall be awakened by the voice of a man, and he that called *Lazarus* by name from his grave, shall also call us: for although St. *Paul* affirms, *that the trumpet shall sound, and there shall be the voice of an arch-angel;** yet this is not a word of nature, but of office and ministry: Christ himself is that *arch-angel*, and he shall *descend with a mighty shout*, (saith the apostle) *and all that are in the grave shall hear his voice*, † saith St. *John:* so that we shall be awakened by the voice of a man, because we are only fallen asleep by the decree of God; and when the cock and the lark call us up to prayer and labour, the first thing we see is an argument of our resurrection from the dead. And when we consider what the Greek church reports, that amongst them the bodies of those that die excommunicate will not return to dust till the censure be taken off; we may with a little faith and reason believe, that the same power that keeps them from their natural dissolution, can recall them to life and union. I will not now insist upon the story of the rising bones seen every year in *Egypt*, nor the pretences of the chemists, that they from the ashes of flowers can re-produce from the same materials the same beauties in

* 1 Thes. iv. 16. † John v. 28.

colour

colour and figure; for he that proves a certain truth from an uncertain argument, is like him that wears a wooden leg when he hath two sound legs already; it hinders his going, but helps him not: the truth of God stands not in need of such supporters, nature alone is a sufficient preacher.

Quæ nunc herba fuit, lignum jacet, herba futura,
Aëriæ nudantur aves cum penna vetusta,
Et nova subvestit reparatas pluma volucres. *

Night and day, the sun returning to the same point of east, every change of species in the same matter, generation and corruption, the eagle renewing her youth, and the snake her skin, the silk-worm and the swallows, the care of posterity and the care of an immortal name, winter and summer, the fall and spring, the Old Testament and the New, the words of *Job*, and the visions of the prophets, the prayer of *Ezekiel* for the resurrection of the men of *Ephraim*, and the return of *Jonas* from the whale's belly, the histories of the Jews and the narratives of Christians, the faith of believers and the philosophy of the reasonable; all join in the verification of this mystery. And amongst these heaps it is not of the least consideration, that there was never any good man, who having been taught this article, but if he served God, he also relied upon this. If he believed God, he believed this; and therefore St. *Paul* says that they who were ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντες, were also ἄθεοι ἐν κόσμῳ, they who had no hope (meaning of the resurrection) were also atheists, and without God in the world. And it is remarkable what St. *Augustine* observes, that when the world saw the righteous *Abel* destroyed, and that the murderer outlived his crime, and built up a numerous family, and grew mighty upon earth, they neglected the service of God upon that

* Dracontius de Opere Dei.

account, till God in pity of their prejudice and foolish arguings took *Enoch* up to heaven to recover them from their impieties, by shewing them that their bodies and souls should be rewarded for ever in an eternal union. But Christ the first fruits is gone before, and himself did promise, that when himself was lifted up he would draw all men after him: *Every man in his own order;* first Christ, then *they that are Christ's at his coming.* And so I have done with the second particular, not Christ only, but we also shall rise in God's time and our order.

But concerning this order I must speak a word or two not only for the fuller handling the text, but because it will be matter of application of what hath been already spoken of the article of the resurrection.

3. First Christ and then we: and we therefore because Christ is already risen: but you must remember that the resurrection and exaltation of Christ was the reward of his perfect obedience, and purest holiness, and he calling us to an imitation of the same obedience, and the same perfect holiness, prepares a way for us to the same resurrection. If we by holiness become the sons of God as Christ was, we shall also, as he was, become the sons of God in the resurrection: but upon no other terms. So said our blessed Lord himself: *Yet which have followed me in the regeneration when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit upon thrones judging the tribes of Israel.* For as it was with Christ the first fruits, so it shall be with all Christians in their own order: as with the head so it shall be with the members, He was the Son of God by love and obedience, and then became the Son of God by resurrection from the dead to life eternal, and so shall we; but we cannot be so in any other way. To them that are Christ's, and to none else shall this be given: for we must know that

* Luke xiv. 14.

God

God hath sent Christ into the world to be a great example and demonstration of the economy and dispensation of eternal life. As God brought Christ to glory, so he will bring us, but by no other method. He first obeyed the will of God, and patiently suffered the will of God; he died and rose again, and entered into glory; and so must we. Thus Christ is made *Via, Veritas, & Vita*, the Way, the Truth, and the Life; that is, the true way to eternal life: he first trode this wine-press, and we must insist in the same steps, or we shall never partake of this blessed resurrection. He was made the Son of God in a most glorious manner, and we by him, by his merit, and by his grace, and by his example: but other than this there is no way of salvation for us: that is the first and great effect of this glorious order.

4. But there is one thing more in it yet: *Every man in his own order. First Christ*, and then *they that are Christ's*: but what shall become of them that are not Christ's? Why there is an order for them too: first, *they that are Christ's;* and then *they that are not his: Blessed and holy is he that hath his part in the first resurrection:** There is a first and a second resurrection even after this life; *The dead in Christ shall rise first:* now blessed are they that have their portion here; *for upon these the second death shall have no power.*† As for the recalling the wicked from their graves, it is no otherwise in the sense of the spirit to be called a resurrection, than taking a criminal from the prison to the bar, is a giving of liberty. When poor *Attilius Aviola* had been seized on by an apoplexy, his friends supposing him dead carried him to his funeral pile; but when the fire began to approach, and the heat to warm the body, he revived, and seeing himself encircled with funeral flames, called out aloud to his friends to rescue, not the *dead*, but the living

* Rev. xx. 6. † 1 Thes. iv. 16.

Aviola

Aviola *from that horrid burning: but it could not be, he only was restored from his sickness to fall into death, and from his dull disease to a sharp and intolerable torment.* Just so shall the wicked live again; they shall receive their souls, that they may be a portion for devils; they shall receive their bodies, that they may feel the everlasting burning; they shall see Christ, that they may *look on him whom they have pierced*; and they shall hear the voice of God passing upon them the intolerable sentence; they shall come from their graves, that they may go into hell; and live again, that they may die for ever. So have we seen a poor condemned criminal, the weight of whose sorrows sitting heavily upon his soul, hath benumbed him into a deep sleep, till he hath forgotten his groans, and laid aside his deep sighings; but on a sudden comes the messenger of death, and unbinds the poppy garland, scatters the heavy cloud that encircled his miserable head, and makes him return to acts of life, that he may quickly descend into death and be no more. So is every sinner that lies down in shame, and makes his grave with the wicked; he shall indeed rise again, and be called upon by the voice of the arch-angel; but then he shall descend into sorrows greater than the reason and the patience of a man, weeping and shrieking louder than the groans of the miserable children in the valley of *Hinnon.*

These indeed are sad stories, but true as the voice of God, and the sermons of the holy Jesus. They are God's words, and God's decrees; and I wish that all who profess the belief of these, would consider sadly what they mean. If ye believe the article of the resurrection, then you know that in your body you shall receive what you did in the body, whether it be good or bad. It matters not now very much whether our bodies be beauteous or deformed; for if we glorify God in our bodies, God shall make our bodies glorious. It matters not much whether we live

in

in ease and pleasure, or eat nothing but bitter herbs; the body *that lies in dust and ashes, that goes stooping and feeble*, that lodges at the foot of the cross, and dwells in discipline, shall be *feasted at the eternal supper of the Lamb.* And ever remember this, that beastly pleasures, and lying lips, and a deceitful tongue, and a heart that sendeth forth proud things, are no good dispositions to a blessed resurrection.

Οὐ καλὸν ἁρμονίην ἀναλύεμεν ἀνθρώποιο.

It is not good that in the body we live a life of dissoluteness, for that is no good harmony with that purpose of glory which God designs the body.

Καὶ τάχα δ' ἐκ γαίης ἐλπίζομεν εἰς φάος ἐκθειν,
Λειψαν' ἀποιχομένων ἔπιθεν δὲ θεοὶ τελέθουσαι,

said *Phocyllides;* for we hope that from our beds of darkness we shall rise into regions of light, and shall become like unto God: they shall partake of a resurrection to life; and what this can infer is very obvious: for if it be so hard to believe a resurrection from one death, let us not be dead in trespasses and sins; for a resurrection from two deaths will be harder to be believed, and harder to be effected. But if any of you have lost the life of grace, and so forfeited all your title to a life of glory, betake yourselves to an early and an entire piety, that when by this first resurrection you have made this way plain before your face, you may with confidence expect a happy resurrection from your graves: for if it be possible that the spirit, when it is dead in sin, can arise to a life of righteousness; much more it is easy to suppose, that the body after death is capable of being restored again: and this is a consequent of St. *Paul*'s argument, Rom. v. 10. *If when ye were enemies ye were reconciled by his death, much more being reconciled we shall be saved by his life*

life; plainly declaring that it is a harder and more wonderful thing for a wicked man to become the friend of God, than for one that is so, to be carried up to heaven and partake of his glory. The first resurrection is certainly the great miracle: but he that hath risen once, may rise again; and this is as sure as that he that dies once, may die again, and die for ever. But he who partakes of the death of Christ by mortification, and of his resurrection by holiness of life and a holy faith, shall, according to the expression of the prophet *Isaiah*, Isa. xxvi. 20. *Enter into his chamber of death*; when nature and God's decree *shall shut the doors upon him, and there he shall be hidden for a little moment:* but then shall they that dwell in dust awake and sing, with Christ's dead body shall they arise; all shall rise, but *every man in his own order; Christ the first fruits, then they that are Christ's at his coming.* Amen.

I have now done with my meditation of the resurrection; but we have a new and a sadder subject to consider. It is glorious and brave when a Christian contemplates those glories which stand at the foot of the account of all God's servants; but when we consider that before all or any thing of this happens, every Christian must twice *exuere hominem*, put off the old man, and then lie down in dust, and the dishonours of the grave, it is *vinum myrrhatum*, there is myrrh put into our wine; it is wholesome, but it will allay all our pleasures of that glorious expectation: but no man can escape it. After that the Great *Cyrus* had ruled long in a mighty empire, yet there came a message from heaven, not so sad it may be, yet as decretory as the hand writing on the wall that arrested his successor *Darius*, Σὺ σκευάζῃ, ὦ Κῦρε, ἤδη γαρ εις θεὰς ἄπει, *Prepare thyself, O* Cyrus, *and then go unto the Gods;* he laid aside his tire and his beauteous diadem, and covered his face with a cloth, and in a single linen laid

laid his honoured head in a poor humble grave: and none of us all can avoid this sentence; for if wit and learning, great fame and great experience; if wise notices of things, and an honourable fortune: if courage and skill, if prelacy and an honourable age, if any thing that could give greatness and immunity to a wise and prudent man, could have been put in bar against a sad day, and have gone for good plea, this sad scene of sorrows had not been the entertainment of this assembly. But tell me, where are those great masters, who while they lived, flourished in their studies? *Jam eorum Præbendas alii possident, & nescio utrum de iis cogitant;* other men have got their prebends and their dignities, and who knows whether ever they remember them or no? While they lived they seemed nothing; when they are dead every man for a while speaks of them what they please, and afterwards they are as if they had not been. But the piety of the Christian Church hath made some little provision towards an artificial immortality for brave and worthy persons; and the friendships which our dead contracted while they were alive, require us to continue a fair memory as long as we can; but they expire in monthly minds, or at most in a faint and declining anniversary;

——————ἐπει φίλος, ὅστις ἑταίρου
Μέμνηται κλαμενοιο και ἄκνυται ἐκ ἑτ' ἐοντος.

And we have great reason so to do in this present sad accident of the death of our late most reverend Primate, whose death the Church of *Ireland* hath very great reason to deplore; and we have great obligation to remember his very many worthy deeds done for this poor afflicted and despised church. St. *Paul* made an excellent funeral oration, as it were instituting a feast of all saints, *who all died having obtained a good report:* and that excellent preacher in the eleventh chapter of the *Hebrews*, made a sermon of their commemoration. For since good men, while they are alive,

have

have their conversation in heaven; when they are in heaven it is also fit that they should in their good names live upon earth. And as their great examples are an excellent sermon to the living, and the praising them when envy and flattery can have no interest to interpose, as it is the best and most vigorous sermon and incentive to great things; so to conceal what good God hath wrought by them, is great unthankfulness to God and to good men.

When *Dorcas* died, the apostle came to see the dead corps, and the friends of the deceased expressed their grief and their love by shewing the coats that she, whilst she lived, wrought with her own hands: she was a good needle-woman and a good housewife, and did good to mankind in her little way, and that itself ought not to be forgotten; and the apostle himself was not displeased with their little sermons, and that ἐυφημισμὸν which the women made upon that sad interview. But if we may have the same liberty to record the worthy things of this our most venerable father and brother, and if there remains no more of that envy which usually obscures the splendor of living heroes; if you can with your charitable, though weeping eyes, behold the great gifts of God wich which he adorned this great prelate, and not object the failings of humanity to the participation of the graces of the spirit, or think that God's gifts are the less because they are borne in earthen vessels, πάντες γαρ κλύτα δῶρα κερασσάμενοι φορέεσιν, for all men bear mortality about them, and the cabinet is not so beauteous as the diamond that shines within its bosom; then we may without interruption pay this duty to piety, and friendship, and thankfulness; and deplore our sad loss by telling a true and sad story of this great man, whom God hath lately taken from our eyes.

He was bred in *Cambridge*, in *Sidney College*, under Mr. *Hulet*, a grave and a worthy man; and he shewed himself not only a fruitful plant, by his great progress

progress in his studies, but made him another return of gratitude, taking care to provide a good employment for him in *Ireland*, where he then began to be greatly interested. It was spoken as an honour to *Augustus Cæsar*, that he gave his tutor an honourable funeral; and *Marcus Antoninus* erected a statue unto his; and *Gratian* the emperor, made his master *Ausonius* to be *consul:* and our worthy primate, knowing the obligation which they pass upon us, who do *Obstetricare gravidæ animæ*, help the parturient soul to bring forth fruits according to its seminal powers, was careful not only to reward the industry of such persons so useful to the church in the cultivating *infantes palmarum*, young plants, whose joints are to be stretched and made straight; but to demonstrate that his scholar knew how to value learning, when he knew so well how to reward the teacher.

Having passed the course of his studies in the university, and done his exercise with that applause which is usually the reward of pregnant wits and hard study, he was removed into *Yorkshire*; where first in the city of *York* he was an assiduous preacher; but by the disposition of the divine providence he happened to be engaged at *North Alerton* in disputation with three pragmatical Romish priests of the Jesuits order, whom he so much worsted in the conference, and so shamefully disadvantaged by the evidence of truth, represented wisely and learnedly, that the famous primate, of *York*, archbishop *Matthews*, a learned and an excellent prelate, and a most worthy preacher, hearing of that triumph, sent for him and made him his chaplain; in whose service he continued till the death of the primate; but in that time had given so much testimony of his dexterity in the conduct of ecclesiastical and civil affairs, that he grew dear to his master. In that employment he was made prebendary of *York*, and then of *Rippon*, the dean of which church having made him his sub-dean, he managed the affairs of that church

church so well that he soon acquired a greater fame, and entered into the possession of many hearts, and admiration to those many more that knew him. There and at his parsonage he continued long to do the duty of a learned and good preacher, and by his wisdom, eloquence, and deportment, so gained the affections of the nobility, gentry, and commons of that country, that as at his return thither upon the blessed restoration of his most Sacred Majesty he knew himself obliged enough, and was so kind as to give them a visit; so they by their coming in great numbers to meet him, their joyful reception of him, their great caressing of him when he was there, there forward hopes to enjoy him as their bishop, their trouble at his departure, their unwillingness to let him go away, gave signal testimonies that they were wise and kind enough to understand and value his great worth.

But while he lived there he was like a diamond in the dust (or *Lucius Quinctius* at the plough;) his low fortune covered a most valuable person, till he became observed by Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, lord president of *York*, whom we all knew for his great excellencies, and his great but glorious misfortunes. This rare person espied the great abilities of doctor *Bramhall*, and made him his chaplain, and brought him into *Ireland*, as one whom he believed would prove the most fit instrument to serve in that design which for two years before his arrival here he had greatly meditated and resolved, the reformation of religion, and the reparation of the broken fortunes of the church: the complaints were many, the abuses great, the causes of the church vastly numerous; but as fast as they were brought in, so fast they were by the lord deputy referred back to Dr. *Bramhall*, who by his indefatigable pains, great sagacity, perpetual watchfulness, daily and hourly consultations, reduced things to a more tolerable condition than they had been left in by the schismatical principles of some, and the unjust

just prepossessions of others, for many years before: for at the reformation the Popish bishops and priests seemed to conform, and did so, that keeping their bishoprics they might enrich their kindred and dilapidate the revenues of the church, which by pretended offices, false informations, fee-farms at contemptible rents, and ungodly alienations, were made low as poverty itself, and unfit to minister to the needs of them that served the altar, or the noblest purposes of religion: for hospitality decayed, and the bishops were easy to be opposed by those that would; and they complained, but for a long time had no helper, till God raised up that glorious instrument the earl of *Strafford*, who brought over with him as great affections to the church and to all public interests, and as admirable abilities, as ever before his time did invest and adorn any of the king's vicegerents; and God fitted his hand with an instrument good as his skill was great: for the first specimen of his abilities and diligence in recovery of some lost tithes, being represented to his late majesty of blessed and glorious memory, it pleased his majesty upon the death of bishop *Downham* to advance the doctor to the bishopric of *Derry*, which he not only adorned with an excellent spirit and a wise government, but did more than double the revenue, not by taking any thing from them to whom it was due, but by resuming something of the churches patrimony, which by undue means was detained in unfitting hands.

But his care was beyond his diocese, and his zeal broke out to warm all his brethren; and though by reason of the favour and piety of king *James* the escheated counties were well provided for their tythes, yet the bishoprics were not so well till the primate, then bishop of *Derry*, by the favour of the lord lieutenant and his own incessant and assiduous labour and wise conduct, brought in divers impropriations, cancelled many unjust alienations, and did restore them to a con-

a condition much more tolerable; I say much more tolerable; for though he raised them above contempt, yet they were not near to envy; but he knew there could not in all times be wanting too many that envied to the church every degree of prosperity: so *Judas* did to Christ the expence of ointment, and so *Dionysius* told the priest, when himself stole the golden cloak from *Apollo*, and gave him one of *Arcadian* home-spun, that it was warmer for him in winter and cooler in summer. And for ever, since the church by God's blessing and the favour of religious kings and princes, and pious nobility, hath been endowed with fair revenues, *inim icus homo*, the enemy hath not been wanting by pretences of religion to take away God's portion from the church, as if his word were intended as an instrument to rob his houses. But when the *Israelites* were governed by a θεοκρατία, and God was their king, and *Moses* his lieutenant, and things were of his management, he was pleased by making great provisions for them that ministered in the service of the tabernacle to consign this truth for ever; that men, as they love God, at the same rate are to make provisions for his priests. For when himself did it, he not only gave the forty-eight cities, with a mile of *glebe* round about their city every way, and yet the whole country was but one hundred and forty miles long, or thereabouts from *Dan* to *Beersheba;* but beside this they had the tythe of all increase, the first fruits, offerings, vows, redemptions, and in short, they had twenty-four sorts of dues, as *Buxtorf* relates; and all this either brought to the barn home to them without trouble, or else as the nature of the thing required, brought to the temple; the first to make it more profitable, and the second to declare that they received it not from the people but from God, not the people's kindness but the Lord's inheritance; insomuch that this small tribe of *Levi*, which was not the fortieth part of the people, as the Scripture computes them,

them,* had a revenue almost treble to any of the largest of the tribes. † I will not insist on what *Villalpandus* observes, it may easily be read in the 45th of *Ezekiel* concerning that portion which God reserves for himself and his service; but whatsoever it be this I shall say, that it is confessedly a prophecy of the gospel; but this I add, that they had as little to do, and much less than a Christian priest, and yet in all the twenty-four courses the poorest priest amongst them might be esteemed a rich man. ‡ I speak not this to upbraid any man or any thing but sacrilege and murmur, nor to any other end but to represent upon what great and religious grounds the then bishop of *Derry* did with so much care and assiduous labour endeavour to restore the church of *Ireland* to that splendor and fulness; which as it is much conducing to the honour of God and of religion, God himself being the judge, so it is much more necessary for you than it is for us, and so this wise prelate rarely well understood it; and having the same advantage and blessing as we now have, a gracious king, and a lieutenant patron of religion and the church, he improved the *deposita pietatis*, as *Origen* calls them, § the gages of piety, which the religion of the antient princes and nobles of this kingdom had bountifully given to such a comfortable competency, that though there be place left for present and future piety to enlarge itself, yet no man hath reason to be discouraged in his duty; insomuch that as I have heard from a most worthy hand, that at his going into *England* he gave account to the archbishop of *Canterbury* of 30,000*l.* a year, in the recovery of which he was greatly and principally instrumental. But the goods of this world are called waters by *Solomon*: stolen waters are sweet, and they are too unstable to be stopped: some of these waters did run

* Numb. i. 46. iii. 39. † Seld. Hist. of Tythes, c. 2.
‡ See Philo. περὶ τῶν τίνα γέρα ἱερέων. § Tract. 25. in St. Matthew.

back

back from their proper channel, and return to another course than God and the laws intended: yet his labours and pious counsels were not the less acceptable to God and good men, and therefore by a thankful and honourable recognition, the convocation of the church of *Ireland* hath transmitted in record to posterity their deep resentment of his singular services and great abilities in this whole affair. And this honour will for ever remain to that bishop of *Derry;* he had a *Zerubbabel* who repaired the temple and restored its beauty, but he was the *Joshua*, the high-priest, who under him ministered this blessing to the congregation of the Lord.

But his care was not determined in the exterior part only, and accessaries of religion; he was careful, and he was prosperous in it, to reduce that divine and excellent service of our church to public and constant exercise, to unity and devotion; and to cause the articles of the church of *England* to be accepted as the rule of public confessions and persuasions here, that they and we might be *populus unius labii*, of one heart and one lip, building up our hopes of heaven on a most holy faith; and taking away that *Shibboleth* which made this church lisp too indecently, or rather in some little degree to speak the speech of *Ashdod*, and not the language of *Canaan;* and the excellent and wise pains he took in this particular no man can dehonestate or reproach, but he that is not willing to confess that the church of *England* is the best reformed church in the world. But when the brave Roman infantry under the conduct of *Manlius* ascended up to the Capitol to defend religion and their altars from the fury of the Gauls, they all prayed to God, *ut quemadmodum ipsi ad defendendum templum ejus concurrissent, ita ille virtutem eorum numine suo tueretur:* that as they came to defend his temple by their arms, so he would defend their persons and that cause with his power and divinity. And this excellent man in the cause of religion

religion found the like blessing which they prayed for; God by the prosperity of his labours and a blessed effect gave testimony not only of the piety and wisdom of his purposes, but that he loves to bless a wise instrument when it is vigorously employed in a wise and religious labour. He overcame the difficulty in defiance of all such pretences as were made even from religion itself to obstruct the better procedure of real and material religion.

These were great things and matter of great envy, and like the fiery eruptions of *Vesuvius* might with the very ashes of consumption have buried another man. At first indeed, as his blessed master the most holy Jesus had, so he also had his *annum acceptibilem.* At first the product was nothing but great admiration at his stupendous parts, and wonder at his mighty diligence and observation of his unusual zeal in so good and great things; but this quickly passed into the natural daughters of envy, suspicion and detraction, the spirit of obloquy and slander. His zeal for recovery of the church revenues was called oppression and rapine, covetousness and injustice; his care of reducing religion to wise and justifiable principles was called popery and Arminianism, and I know not what names, which signify what the authors are pleased to mean, and the people to construe and to hate. The intermedial prosperity of his person and fortune, which he had as an earnest of a greater reward to so well-meant labours, was supposed to be the production of illiberal arts and ways of getting; and the necessary refreshment of his wearied spirits, which did not always supply all his needs, and were sometimes less than the permissions even of prudent charity, they called intemperance: *Dederunt enim malum Metelli Nevio poetæ;* their own surmises were the bills of accusation, and the splendor of his great ἀγαθοεργία, or doing of good works, was the great probation of all their calumnies.

But if envy be the accuser, what can be the defences of innocence?

Saucior invidiæ morsu, quærenda medela est,
Dic quibus in terris sentiet æger opem?

Our blessed Saviour knowing the unsatisfiable angers of men if their money or estates were meddled with, refused to divide an inheritance amongst brethren: it was not to be imagined that this great person (invested, as all his brethren were, with the infirmities of mortality, and yet employed in dividing and recovering and apportioning of lands) should be able to bear all that reproach which jealousy and suspicion, and malicious envy could invent against him. But ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν πολλὰ μανθάνουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ, said *Sophocles:* and so did he; the affrightments brought to his great fame and reputation made him to walk more warily, and do justly, and act prudently, and conduct his affairs by the measures of laws, as far as he understood, and indeed that was a very great way: but there was *aperta justitia, clausa manus*, justice was open, but his hand was shut; and though every slanderer could tell a story, yet none could prove that ever he received a bribe to blind his eyes, to the value of a pair of gloves: it was his own expression, when he gave glory to God who had preserved him innocent. But because every man's cause is right in his own eyes, it was hard for him so to acquit himself, that in the intrigues of law and difficult cases some of his enemies should not seem (when they were heard alone) to speak reason against him. But see the greatness of truth and prudence, and how greatly God stood with him. When the numerous armies of vexed people,

Turba gravis paci, placidæq; inimica quieti,

heaped

heaped up catalogues of accusations, when the parliament of *Ireland* imitating the violent procedures of the then disordered *English*, when his glorious patron was taken from his head, and he was disrobed of his great defences; when petitions were invited and accusations furnished, and calumny was rewarded and managed with art and power, when there were above two hundred petitions put in against him, and himself denied leave to answer by word of mouth; when he was long imprisoned, and treated so that a guilty man would have been broken into affrightment and pitiful and low considerations; yet then he himself standing almost alone, like *Calimachus* at *Marathon* invested with enemies and covered with arrows, defended himself beyond all the powers of guiltiness, even with the defences of truth and the bravery of innocence, and answered the petitions in writing, sometimes twenty in a day, with so much clearness, evidence of truth, reality of fact and testimony of law, that his very enemies were ashamed and convinced; they found they had done like *Æsop*'s viper, they licked the file till their tongues bled; but himself was wholly invulnerable. They were therefore forced to leave their muster-rolls and decline the particulars, and fall to their εν μέγα, to accuse him for going about to subvert the fundamental laws; the way by which great *Strafford* and *Canterbury* fell; which was a device, when all reasons failed, to oppress the enemy by the bold affirmation of a conclusion they could not prove: they did like those *gladiatores* whom the Romans called *retiaries*, when they could not stab their enemies with their daggers, they threw nets over him, and covered him with a general mischief. But the martyr king *Charles* the first, of most glorious and eternal memory, seeing so great a champion likely to be oppressed with numbers and despair, sent what rescue he could, his royal letter for his bail, which was hardly granted to him; and when it was, it was upon such hard terms, that his very de-

livery was a persecution. So necessary it was for them, who intended to do mischief to the public, to take away the strongest pillars of the house. This thing I remark to acquit this great man from the tongue of slander, which had so boldly spoken, that it was certain something would stick; yet was so impotent and unarmed, that it could not kill that great fame which his greater worthiness had procured him. It was said of *Hippasus* the *Pythagorean*, that being asked how and what he had done, he answered, *Nondum nihil, neque enim adhuc mihi invidetur;* I have done nothing yet, for no man envies me. He that does great things cannot avoid the tongues and teeth of envy; but if calumnies must pass for evidences, the bravest heroes must always be the most reproached persons in the world.

Nascitur Ætolicus, pravum ingeniosus ad omne;
Qui facere assuerat, patriæ non degener artis,
Candida de nigris, & de candentibus atra.

Every thing can have an ill name and an ill sense put upon it; but God, who takes care of reputations as he does of lives, by the orders of his providence confutes the slander, *ut memoria justorum sit in benedictionibus*, that the memory of the righteous man might be embalmed with honour: and so it happened to this great man; for by a public warranty, by the concurrent consent of both houses of parliament, the libellous petitions against him, the false records and public monuments of injurious shame were cancelled, and he was restored *in integrum* to that fame where his great labours and just procedures had first estated him; which, though it was but justice, yet it was also such honour, that it is greater than the virulence of tongues, which his worthiness and their envy had armed against him.

But yet the great scene of the troubles was but newly opened. I shall not refuse to speak yet more of

of his troubles, as remembering that St. *Paul*, when he discourses of the glories of the saints departed, he tells more of their sufferings than of their prosperities, as being that laboratory and crucible in which God makes his servants vessels of honour to his glory. The storm quickly grew high; *& transitum est à linguis ad gladios;* and that was indeed ἀδικία ἔχουσα ὅπλα, iniquity had put on arms; when it is *armata nequitia*, then a man is hard put to it. The rebellion breaking out, the bishop went to his charge at *Derry;* and because he was within the defence of walls, the execrable traitor Sir *Phelim ó Neale* laid a snare to bring him to a dishonourable death; for he wrote a letter to the bishop, pretended intelligence between them, desired that according to their former agreement such a gate might be delivered to him. The messenger was not advised to be cautious, nor at all instructed in the art of secrecy; for it was intended that he should be searched, intercepted, and hanged for ought they cared: but the arrow was shot against the bishop, that he might be accused for base conspiracy, and die with shame and sad dishonour. But here God manifested his mighty care of his servants; he was pleased to send into the heart of the messenger such an affrightment, that he directly ran away with the letter, and never durst come near the town to deliver it. This story was published by Sir *Phelim* himself, who added, that if he could have thus ensnared the bishop, he had good assurance the town should have been his own: *sed bonitas Dei prævalitura est super omnem malitiam hominis;* the goodness of God is greater than all the malice of men; and nothing could so prove how dear that sacred life was to God, as his rescue from the dangers. *Stantia non poterant tecta probare Deos:* to have kept him in a warm house had been nothing, unless the roof had fallen upon his head; that rescue was a remark of divine favour and providence. But it seems Sir *Phelim*'s treason

son against the life of this worthy man had a correspondent in the town; and it broke out speedily; for what they could not effect by malicious stratagem, they did in part by open force; they turned the bishop out of the town, and upon trifling and unjust pretences searched his carriages, and took what they pleased, till they were ashamed to take more: they did worse than divorce him from his church; for in all the Roman divorces they said, *Tuas tibi res habete*, take your goods and be gone; but plunder was religion then. However, though the usage was sad, yet it was recompenced to him by his taking sanctuary in *Oxford*, where he was graciously received by that most incomparable and divine prince; but having served the king in *Yorkshire* by his pen, and by his counsels, and by his interests, returned back to *Ireland*, where under the excellent conduct of his grace the now lord lieutenant, he ran the risk and fortune of oppressed virtue.

But God having still resolved to afflict us, the good man was forced into the fortune of the patriarchs, to leave his country and his charges, and seek for safety and bread in a strange land; for so the prophets were used to do, wandering up and down in sheep's clothing; but poor as they were, the world was not worthy of them: and this worthy man, despising the shame, took up his cross and followed his master.

Exilium causa ipsa jubet sibi dulce videri,
Et desiderium dulce levat patriæ.

He was not ashamed to suffer where the cause was honourable and glorious; but so God provided for the needs of his banished, and sent a man who could minister comfort to the afflicted, and courage to the persecuted, and resolutions to the tempted, and strength to that religion for which they all suffered.

And here this great man was indeed triumphant; this

this was one of the last and best scenes of his life: Ἔμέραι γὰρ ἐπιλόϊοι μάρτυρ@ σοφώταϊοι, the last days are the best witnesses of a man. But so it was, that he stood up in public and brave defence for the doctrine and discipline of the church of *England*: first, by his sufferings and great example; for, *verbis tantùm philosophari, non est doctoris, sed histrionis;* to talk well and not to do bravely, is for a comedian, not a divine: but this great man did both; he suffered his own calamity with great courage, and by his wise discourses strengthened the hearts of others.

For there wanted not diligent tempters in the church of *Rome*, who taking advantage of the afflictions of his sacred majesty, in which state men commonly suspect every thing, and like men in sickness are willing to change from side to side, hoping for ease and finding none, flew at royal game, and hoped to draw away the king from that religion which his most royal father, the best man and the wisest prince in the world, had sealed with the best blood in *Christendom*, and which himself sucked in with his education, and had confirmed by choice and reason, and confessed publicly and bravely, and hath since restored prosperously. *Millitiere* was the man, witty and bold enough to attempt a zealous and a foolish undertaking, who addressed himself with ignoble, indeed, but witty, arts to persuade the king to leave what was dearer to him than his eyes. It is true, it was a wave dashed against a rock, and an arrow shot against the sun, it could not reach him; but the bishop of *Derry* turned it also, and made it fall upon the shooter's head; for he made so ingenious, so learned, and so acute reply to that book; he so discovered the errors of the Roman church, retorted the arguments, stated the questions, demonstrated the truth, and shamed their procedures, that nothing could be a greater argument of the bishop's learning, great parts, deep judgment, quickness of apprehension, and sincerity in the catholic and apostolic

apostolic faith; or of the follies and prevarications of the church of *Rome*. He wrote no apologies for himself, though it were much to be wished that, as *Junius* wrote his own life, or *Moses* his own story, so we might have understood from himself how great things God had done for him and by him: but all that he permitted to God, and was silent in his own defences; *Gloriosius enim est injuriam tacendo fugere, quàm respondendo superare:* but when the honour and conscience of his king, and the interest of a true religion was at stake, the fire burned within him, and at last he spake with his tongue; he cried out like the son of *Crœsus*, Ἄνθρωπε μὴ κλεινε Κροῖσον, take heed and meddle not with the king; his person is too sacred, and religion too dear to him to be assaulted by vulgar hands. In short, he acquitted himself in this affair with so much truth and piety, learning and judgment, that in those papers his memory will last unto very late succeeding generations.

But this most reverend prelate found a nobler adversary, and a braver scene for his contention: he found that the Roman priests being wearied and baffled by the wise discourses and pungent arguments of the English divines, had studiously declined any more to dispute the particular questions against us, but fell at last upon a general charge, imputing to the church of *England* the great crime of schism; and by this they thought they might with most probability deceive unwary and unskilful readers; for they saw the schism, and they saw we had left them; and because they considered not the causes, they resolved to out-face us in the charge: but now it was that *dignum nactus argumentum*, having an argument fit to employ his great abilities,

Consecrat hic præsul calamum calamiq; labores
Ante aras Domino læta trophæa suo;

the

the bishop now dedicates his labours to the service of God and of his church, undertook the question, and in a full discourse proves the church of *Rome* not only to be guilty of the schism, by making it necessary to depart from them; but they did actuate the schisms, and themselves made the first separation in the great point of the pope's supremacy, which was the *palladium* for which they principally contended. He made it appear that the popes of *Rome* were usurpers of the rights of kings and bishops; that they brought in new doctrines in every age, that they imposed their own devices upon *Christendom* as articles of faith, that they prevaricated the doctrines of the apostles, that the church of *England* only returned to her primitive purity, that she joined with Christ and his apostles, that she agreed in all the sentiments of the primitive church. He stated the questions so wisely, and conducted them so prudently, and handled them so learnedly, that I may truly say, they were never more materially confuted by any man, since the questions have so unhappily disturbed Christendom. *Verum hoc eos malè ussit:* and they finding themselves smitten under the fifth rib, set up an old champion of their own, a *Goliah* to fight against the armies of *Israel;* the old bishop of *Chalcedon*, known to many of us, replied to this excellent book; but was so answered by a rejoinder made by the lord bishop of *Derry*, in which he so pressed the former arguments, refuted the cavils, brought in so many impregnable authorities and probations, and added so many moments and weights to his discourse, that the pleasures of reading the book would be the greatest, if the profit to the church of God were not greater.

Flumina tum lactis, tum flumina nectaris ibant,
Flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella.

For

For so *Sampson*'s riddle was again expounded, *out of the strong came meat, and out of the eater came sweetness;* his arguments were strong, and the eloquence was sweet and delectable; and though there start up another combatant against him, yet he had only the honour to fall by the hands of *Hector:* still *hæret lateri lethalis arundo;* the headed arrow went in so far, that it could not be drawn out, but the barbed steel stuck behind. And whenever men will desire to be satisfied in those great questions, the bishop of *Derry*'s book shall be his oracle.

I will not insist upon his other excellent writings; but it is known every where with what piety and *acumen* he wrote against the Manichean doctrine of fatal necessity, which a late witty man had pretended to adorn with a new vizor; but this excellent person washed off the ceruse and the meretricious paintings, rarely well asserted the economy of the divine providence; and having once more triumphed over his adversary, *plenus victoriarum & trophæorum*, betook himself to the more agreeable attendance upon sacred offices; and having usefully and wisely discoursed of the sacred rite of confirmation, imposed his hands upon the most illustrious princes, the dukes of *York* and *Gloucester*, and the princess royal, and ministered to them the promise of the Holy Spirit, and ministerially established them in the religion and service of the holy Jesus. And one thing more I shall remark, that at his leaving those parts upon the king's return, some of the remonstrant ministers of the low countries coming to take their leaves of this great man, and desiring that by his means the church of *England* would be kind to them, he had reason to grant it, because they were learned men, and in many things of a most excellent belief; yet he reproved them, and gave them caution against it, that they approached too near and gave too much countenance to the great and dangerous errors of the Socinians.

He

He thus having served God and the king abroad, God was pleased to return to the king and to us all, as in the *days of old, and we sung the song of* David.

In convertendo captivitatem Sion : when king *David* and all his servants returned to *Jerusalem,* this great person having trod in the wine-press was called to drink of the wine, and as an honorary reward of his great services and abilities, was chosen primate of this national church : in which time we are to look upon him, as the king and the king's great vicegerent did, as a person concerning whose abilities the world had too great testimony ever to make a doubt. It is true he was in the declension of his age and health ; but his very ruins were goodly ; and they who saw the broken heaps of *Pompey's* theatre, and the crushed obelisks, and the old face of beauteous *Philænium,* could not but admire the disordered glories of such magnificent structures, which were venerable in their very dust.

He ever was used to overcome all difficulties, only mortality was too hard for him ; but still his virtues and his spirit was immortal, he still took great care, and still had new and noble designs, and proposed to himself admirable things. He governed his province with great justice and sincerity ;

Unus amplo consulens pastor gregi,
Somnos tuetur omnium solus vigil.

And had this remark in all his government, that as he was a great hater of sacrilege, so he professed himself a public enemy to non-residence, and often would declare wisely and religiously against it, allowing it in no case but of necessity or the greater good of the church. There are great things spoken of his predecessor St. *Patrick,* that he founded seven hundred churches and religious convents, that he ordained five thousand priests, and with his own hands consecrated three

three hundred and fifty bishops. How true the story is I know not; but we were all witnesses that the late primate, whose memory we now celebrate, did by an extraordinary contingency of providence in one day consecrate two arch-bishops and ten bishops; and did benefit to almost all the churches in *Ireland*, and was greatly instrumental to the re-endowments of the whole clergy; and in the greatest abilities and incomparable industry was inferior to none of his most glorious antecessors.

Since the canonization of saints came into the church, we find no Irish bishop canonized, except St. *Lawrence* of *Dublin*, and St. *Malachias* of *Down*; indeed *Richard* of *Armagh*'s canonization was propounded, but not effected; but the character which was given of that learned primate by *Trithemius* does exactly fit this our late father; *Vir in Divinis Scripturis eruditus, secularis philosophiæ jurisque canonici non ignarus, clarus ingenio, sermone scholasticus, in declamandis sermonibus ad populum excellentis industriæ:** He was learned in the Scriptures, skilled in secular philosophy, and not unknowing in the civil and canon laws, (in which studies I wish the clergy were with some carefulness and diligence still more conversant); he was of an excellent spirit, a scholar in his discourses, an early and industrious preacher to the people. And as if there were a more particular sympathy between their souls, our primate had so great a veneration to his memory, that he purposed, if he had lived, to have restored his monument in *Dundalke*, which time, or impiety, or unthankfulness had either omitted or destroyed. So great a lover he was of all true and inherent worth, that he loved it in the very memory of the dead, and to have such great examples transmitted to the intuition and imitation of posterity.

At his coming to the primacy he knew he should at

* De Scriptor. Eccles.

first

first espy little besides the ruins of discipline, a harvest of thorns, and heresies prevailing in the hearts of the people, the churches possessed by wolves and intruders, men's hearts greatly estranged from true religion; and therefore he set himself to weed the fields of the church: he treated the adversaries sometimes sweetly, sometimes he confuted them learnedly, sometimes he rebuked them sharply. He visited his charges diligently and in his own person, not by proxies and instrumental deputations: *Quærens non nostra, sed nos, & quæ sunt Jesu Christi;* he designed nothing that we knew of but the redintegration of religion, the honour of God and the King, the restoring of collapsed discipline, and the renovation of faith and the service of God in the church. And still he was indefatigable, and, even at the last scene of his life, intended to undertake a regal visitation. *Quid enim vultis me otiosum à Domino comprehendi?* said one; he was not willing that God should take him unemployed: but, good man, he felt his tabernacle ready to fall in pieces, and could go no further, for God would have no more work done by that hand: he therefore espying this, put his house in order, and had lately visited his diocese, and done what he then could to put his charge in order; for he had a good while since received the sentence of death within himself, and knew he was shortly to render an account of his stewardship; he therefore upon a brisk alarm of death, which God sent him the last *January*, made his will; in which, besides the prudence and presence of spirit manifested in making just and wise settlement of his estate, and provisions for his descendents; at midnight, and in the trouble of his sickness and circumstances of addressing death, still kept a special sentiment and made confession of God's admirable mercies, and gave thanks that God had permitted him to live to see the blessed restoration of his majesty and the church of *England*, confessed his faith to be the same as ever, gave praises to God

that

that he was born and bred up in this religion, and prayed to God, and hoped he should die in the communion of this church, which he declared to be the most pure and apostolical church in the whole world.

He prayed to God to pardon his frailties and infirmities, relied upon the mercies of God and the merits of Jesus Christ, and with a singular sweetness resigned up his soul into the hands of his Redeemer.

But God, who is the great *Choragus* and master of the scenes of life and death, was not pleased then to draw the curtains; there was an epilogue to his life yet to be acted and spoken. He returned to actions and life, and went on in the methods of the same procedure as before; was desirous still to establish the affairs of the church, complained of some disorders which he purposed to redress, girt himself to the work; but though his spirit was willing, yet his flesh was weak; and as the apostles in the vespers of Christ's passion, so he in the eye of his own dissolution was heavy, not to sleep, but heavy unto death, and looked for the last warning, which seized on him in the midst of business; and though it was sudden, yet it could not be unexpected, or unprovided by surprise, and therefore could be no other than that εὐθανασία which *Augustus* used to wish unto himself, a civil and well-natured death, without the amazement of troublesome circumstances, or the great cracks of a falling house, or the convulsions of impatience. *Seneca* tells that *Bassus Aufidius* was wont to say, *Sperare se nullum dolorem esse in illo extremo anhelitu, si tamen esset, habere aliquantum in ipsa brevitate solatii*:* He hoped that the pains of the last dissolution were little or none; or if they were, it was full of comfort that they could be but short. It happened so to this excellent man: his passive fortitude had been abundantly tried before, and therefore there was the less need

* Epist. 30.

of

of it now; his active graces had been abundantly demonstrated by the great and good things he did, and therefore his last scene was not so laborious, but God called him away something after the manner of Moses, which the Jews express by *osculum oris Dei*, the kiss of God's mouth; that is, a death indeed fore-signified, but gentle and serene, and without temptation.

To sum up all; He was a wise prelate, a learned doctor, a just man, a true friend, a great benefactor to others, a thankful beneficiary, where he was obliged himself. He was a faithful servant to his masters, a loyal subject to the king, a zealous assertor of his religion against popery on one side, and fanaticism on the other. The practice of his religion was not so much in forms and exterior ministries, though he was a great observer of all the public rites and ministries of the church, as it was in doing good for others. He was like *Myson*, whom the *Scythian Anarchasis* so greatly praised, ὃ μύσων ἦν οἶκον οἰκήσας καλῶς, he governed his family well, he gave to all their due of maintenance and duty; he did great benefit to mankind; he had the fate of the apostle St. *Paul*, he passed through evil report and good report, as a deceiver and yet true. He was a man of great business and great resort: *Semper aliquis in Cydonis domo*, as the Corinthians said, there was always somebody in *Cydon*'s house.* He was μεριζων τὸν βιὸν ἔργῳ και βιβλῳ, he divided his life into labour and his book; he took care of his churches when he was alive, and even after his death, having left five hundred pounds for the repair of his cathedral of *Armagh* and St. *Peter*'s church in *Drogheda:* he was an excellent scholar, and rarely well accomplished; first instructed to great excellency by natural parts, and then consummated by study and experience. *Melanchthon* was used to say, that himself was a logician, *Pomeranus* a grammarian, *Justus*

* Synes. Ep. 57.

Jonas

Jonas an orator, but that *Luther* was all these. It was greatly true of him, that the single perfections which make many men eminent, were united in this primate, and made him illustrious.

At, at, Quintilium perpetuus sopor
Urget: cui pudor & justitiæ soror
Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas
Quando ullum invenient parem?

It will be hard to find his equal in all things: *Fortasse tanquam Phœnix anno quingentesimo nascitur,* (that I may use the words of *Seneca*) *nec est mirum ex intervallo magna generari mediocria & in turbam nascentia sæpe fortuna producit: eximia vero ipsa raritate commendat.* For in him was visible the great lines of *Hooker*'s judiciousness, of *Jewel*'s learning, of the acuteness of bishop *Andrews.* He was skilled in more great things than one; and, as one said of *Phidias,* he could not only make excellent statues of of ivory, but he could work in stone and brass: he shewed his equanimity in poverty, and his justice in riches; he was useful in his country, and profitable in his banishment; for as *Paræus* was at *Anvilla, Luther* at *Wittenburg*, St. *Athanasius* and St. *Chrysostom* in their banishment, St. *Hierom* in his retirement at *Bethlehem,* they were oracles to them that needed it; so was he in *Holland* and *France*, where he was abroad; and besides the particular endearments which his friends received from him, for he did do relief to his brethren that wanted, and supplied the soldiers out of his store in *Yorkshire,* when himself could but ill spare it; but he received public thanks from the convocation of which he was president, and public justification from the parliament where he was speaker; so that although, as one said *Miraculi instar vitæ iter, si longum, sine offensione percurrere;* yet no man had greater enemies, and no man had greater justifications.

But

But God hath taken our *Elijah* from our heads this day: I pray God that at least his mantle may be left behind, and that his spirit may be doubled upon his successor; and that we may all meet together with him at the right hand of the Lamb, where every man shall receive according to his deeds, whether they be good or whether they be evil. I conclude with the words of *Caius Plinius, Equidem beatos puto quibus Deorum munere datum est, aut facere scribenda, aut scribere legenda:* he wrote many things fit to be read, and did very many things worthy to be written; which if we wisely imitate, we may hope to meet him in the resurrection of the just, and feast with him in the eternal Supper of the Lamb, there to sing perpetual anthems to the honour of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: *To whom be all honour, &c.*

A

FUNERAL SERMON

PREACHED AT

THE OBSEQUIES

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND MOST VIRTUOUS LADY,

THE LADY FRANCES,

COUNTESS OF CARBERY,

WHO DECEASED OCTOBER THE 9TH, 1650, AT HER HOUSE, GOLDEN GROVE, CAERMARTHENSHIRE.

To the Right Honourable and Truly Noble

RICHARD LORD VAUGHAN,

Earl of Carberry, Baron of Emlim and Molinger, Knight of the Honourable Order of the Bath.

MY LORD,

I AM not ashamed to profess that I pay this part of service to your Lordship most unwillingly: for it is a sad office to be the chief minister in a house of mourning, and to present an interested person with a branch of cypress and a bottle of tears. And indeed, my Lord, it were more proportionable to your needs to bring something that might alleviate or divert your sorrow, than to dress the hearse of your dear Lady, and to furnish it with such circumstances, that it may dwell with you, and lie in your closet, and make your prayers and your retirements more sad and full of weepings. But because the Divine Providence hath taken from you a person so excellent, a woman fit to converse with angels and apostles, with saints and martyrs, give me leave to present you

you with her picture, drawn in little and in water-colours, sullied indeed with tears and the abrupt accents of a real and consonant sorrow; but drawn with a faithful hand, and taken from the life: and indeed it were too great a loss to be deprived of her example and of her rule, of the original and of the copy too. The age is very evil and deserved her not; but because it is so evil, it hath the more need to have such lives preserved in memory to instruct our piety, or upbraid our wickedness. For now that God hath cut this tree of paradise down from its seat of earth, yet so the dead trunk may support a part of the declining temple, or at least serve to kindle the fire on the altar. My Lord, I pray God this heap of sorrow may swell your piety till it breaks into the greatest joys of God and of religion; and remember when you pay a tear upon the grave, or to the memory of your Lady (that dear and most excellent soul) that you pay two more: one of repentance for those things that may have caused this breach; and another of joy for the mercies of God to your dear departed saint, that he hath taken her into a place where she can weep no more. My Lord, *I think I shall*, so long as I live, that is, so long as I am,

Your Lordship's most humble servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

Pietati & Memoriæ Sacrum.

MONUMENTUM doloris singularis, paris fati & conditionis posuit *Richardus* Comes *Carberiensis* sibi vivo, & mortem nec exoptanti nec metuenti : Et dilectissimæ suæ Conjugi *Franciscæ* Comitissæ in flore ætatis casibus puerperii raptæ ex amplexibus Sanctissimi amoris. Fuit illa (descendat lachrymula Amice Lector) fuit inter castissimas prima, inter Conjuges amantissima, Mater optima : placidi oris, severæ virtutis, conversationis suavissimæ : vultum hilarem fecit bona conscientia, amabilem, forma plusquam Uxoria. Claris orta Natalibus, fortunam non mediocrem habuit; erat enim cum Unicâ Germanâ Hæres ex asse. Annos XIII, Menses IV, supra Biduum vixit in Sanctissimo Matrimonio cum SUO quem effusissimè dilexit, & sanctè observavit; quem novit Prudentissimum, sensit Amantissimum, virum Optimum vidit & lætata est. Enixa prolem numerosam, pulchram, ingenuam, formæ & Spei optimæ; quatuor Masculos, *Francum* Dominum *Vaughan*, *Johannem*, *Althamum*, quartum immaturum ; Fœminas sex, Dom: *Franciscam*, *Elizabethas* duas, *Mariam*, *Margaretam*, & *Althamiam* [post cujus partum paucis diebus obdormiit.] Totam prolem Masculam (si demas abortivum illum) & fœminas omnes, præter *Elizabetham* alteram & *Mariam*, superstites reliquit. Pietatis adeóq: Spei plena obiit ix. *Octbr.* M.DC.L. Lachrymis suorum omnium tota irrigua conditur in hoc cœmeterio, ubi cùm Deo Opt. Max. visum fuerit, sperat se reponendum Conjux mœstissimus : interea temporis luctui, sed pietati magis vacat, ut in suo tempore simul lætentur Par tam Pium, tam Nobile, tam Christianum in gremio *Jesu*, usque dum Coronæ adornentur accipiendæ in Adventu Domini.

AMEN.

Cum ille vitâ defunctus fuerit, Marmor loquetur quod adhuc tacere jubet virtus Modesta: interim vitam ejus observa, & leges quod posteà hîc inscriptum amabunt & colent Posteri.

Ora & abi.

SERMON VIII.

A

FUNERAL SERMON.

2 Sam. xiv. 14.

For we must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground which cannot be gathered up again: neither doth God respect any person: yet doth he devise means that his banished be not expelled from him.

WHEN our Blessed Saviour and his disciples viewed the temple, some one amongst them cried out, *Magister aspice, quales lapides! Master, behold what fair, what great stones are here!* Christ made no other reply but foretold their dissolution, and a world of sadness and sorrow which should bury that whole nation, when the teeming cloud of God's displeasure should produce a storm which was the daughter of the biggest anger, and the mother of the greatest calamity which ever crushed any of the sons of *Adam;* [*The time shall come that there shall not be left one stone upon another.*] The whole temple and the religion, the ceremonies ordained by God, and the nation beloved by God, and the fabric erected for the service of God, shall run to their own period, and lie down in their several graves. Whatsoever had a beginning can also have an ending, and it shall die, unless it be daily watered with the purles flowing from the Fountain of

of Life, and refreshed with the dew of heaven, and the wells of God: and therefore God had provided a tree in Paradise to have supported *Adam* in his *artificial immortality:* immortality was not in his nature, but in the hands and arts, in the favour and superadditions of God. Man was always the same mixture of heat and cold, of dryness and moisture; ever the same weak thing, apt to feel rebellion in the humours, and to suffer the evils of a civil war in his body natural: and therefore health and life was to descend upon him from heaven, and he was to suck life from a tree on earth; himself being but ingrafted into a tree of life, and adopted into the condition of an immortal nature: but he that in the best of his days was but a scion of this tree of life, by his sin was cut off from thence quickly, and planted upon thorns, and his portion was for ever after among the flowers, which to day spring and look like health and beauty, and in the evening they are sick, and at night are dead, and the oven is their grave: and as before, even from our first spring from the dust on earth, *we might have died* if we had not been preserved by the continual flux of a rare providence; so now that we are reduced to the laws of our own nature, *we must needs die.* It is natural, and therefore necessary: it is become a punishment to us, and therefore it is unavoidable; and God hath bound the evil upon us by bands of natural and inseparable propriety, and by a supervening unalterable decree of heaven; and we are fallen from our privilege, and are returned to the condition of beasts, and buildings, and common things: and we see temples defiled unto the ground, and they die by sacrilege; and great empires die by their own plenty and ease, full humours, and factious subjects; and huge buildings fall by their own weight, and the violence of many winters eating and consuming the cement, which is the marrow of their bones; and princes die like the meanest of their servants; and every thing finds a grave and a tomb;

and

and the very tomb itself dies by the bigness of its pompousness and luxury,

> ——————*Phario nutantia pondera saxo*
> *Quæ cineri vanus dat ruitura labor,*

and becomes as friable and uncombined dust as the ashes of the sinner or the saint that lay under it, and is now forgotten in his bed of darkness. And to this catalogue of mortality man is enrolled with a [*Statutum est*] *It is appointed for all men to once die, and after death comes judgment:* and if a man can be stronger than nature, or can wrestle with a decree of heaven, or can escape from a divine punishment by his own arts, so that neither the power nor the providence of God, nor the laws of nature, nor the bands of eternal predestination can hold him, then he may live beyond the fate and period of flesh, and last longer than a flower: but if all these can hold us and tie us to conditions, then we must lay our heads down upon a turf, and entertain creeping things in the cells and little chambers of our eyes, and dwell with worms till time and death shall be no more. *We must needs die* [That is our sentence: but that is not all.

We are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again.] Stay,

1. We are as water, weak, and of no consistence, always descending, abiding in no certain place, unless where we are detained with violence; and every little breath of wind makes us rough and tempestuous, and troubles our faces; every trifling accident discomposes us; and as the face of the waters wafting in a storm so wrinkles itself that it makes upon its forehead furrows deep and hollow like a grave; so do our great and little cares and trifles first make the wrinkles of old age, and then they dig a grave for us: and there is in nature nothing so contemptible, but it may meet with

with us in such circumstances, that it may be too hard for us in our weaknesses; and the sting of a bee is a weapon sharp enough to pierce the finger of a child or the lip of a man; and those creatures which nature hath left without weapons, yet they are armed sufficiently to vex those parts of men which are left defenceless and obnoxious to a sun-beam, to the roughness of a sour grape, to the unevenness of a gravel stone, to the dust of a wheel, or the unwholesome breath of a star looking awry upon a sinner.

2. But besides the weaknesses and natural decayings of our bodies, if chances and contingencies be innumerable, then no man can reckon our dangers, and the preternatural causes of our deaths: so that he is a vain person whose hopes of life are too confidently increased by reason of his health: and he is too unreasonably timorous, who thinks his hopes at an end when he dwells in sickness. For men die without rule, and with and without occasions; and no man suspecting or foreseeing any of death's addresses, and no man in his whole condition is weaker than another. A man in a long consumption is fallen under one of the solemnities and preparations to death: but at the same instant the most healthful person is as near death, upon a more fatal and a more sudden, but a less discerned cause. There are but few persons upon whose foreheads every man can read the sentence of death written in the lines of a lingering sickness, but they (sometimes) hear the passing-bell ring for stronger men, even long before their own knell calls at the house of their mother, to open her womb, and make a bed for them. Nō man is surer of to-morrow than the weakest of his brethren: and when *Lepidus* and *Aufidius* stumbled at the threshold of the senate and fell down and died, the blow came from heaven in a cloud; but it struck more suddenly than upon the poor slave that made sport upon the theatre with a premeditated and fore-described death: *Quod quisque vitet*

vitet, nunquam homini satis cautum est in horas. There are sicknesses that walk in darkness, and there are exterminating angels that fly wrapt up in the curtains of immateriality and an uncommunicating nature; whom we cannot see, but we feel their force and sink under their sword, and from heaven the veil descends that wraps our heads in the fatal sentence. There is no age of man but it hath proper to itself some posterns and the outlets for death, besides those infinite and open ports out of which myriads of men and women every day pass into the dark, and the land of forgetfulness. *Infancy* hath life but *in effigy*, or like a spark dwelling in a pile of wood: the candle is so newly lighted, that every little shaking of the taper, and every ruder breath of air puts it out, and it dies. *Childhood* is so tender, and yet so unwary; so soft to all the impressions of chance, and yet so forward to run into them, that God knew there could be no security without the care and vigilance of an angel-keeper: and the eyes of parents and the arms of nurses, the provisions of art, and all the effects of human love and providence are not sufficient to keep one child from horrid mischiefs, from strange and early calamities and deaths, unless a messenger be sent from heaven to stand sentinel, and watch the very playings and sleepings, the eatings and drinkings of the children; and it is a long time before nature makes them capable of help: for there are many deaths, and very many diseases to which poor babes are exposed; but they have but very few capacities of physic: to shew that infancy is as liable to death as old age, and equally exposed to danger, and equally incapable of a remedy: with this only difference, that old age hath diseases incurable by nature, and the diseases of childhood are incurable by art; and both the states are the next heirs of death.

3. But all the middle way *the case is altered:* nature

ture is strong, and art is apt to give ease and remedy, but still there is no security; and there the case is not altered. 1. For there are so many diseases in men that are not understood. 2. So many new ones every year. 3. The old ones are so changed in circumstances, and intermingled with so many collateral complications. 4. The symptoms are oftentimes so like. 5. Sometimes so hidden and fallacious. 6. Sometimes none at all (as in the most sudden and most dangerous imposthumations.) 7. And then, the diseases in the inward parts of the body, are oftentimes such to which no application can be made. 8. They are so far off, that the effects of all medicines can no otherwise come to them, than the effect and juices of all meats; that is, not till after two or three alterations and decoctions, which change the very species of the medicament. 9. And after all this, very many principles in the art of physic are so uncertain, that after they have been believed seven or eight ages, and that upon them much of the practice hath been established, they come to be considered by a witty man, and others established in their stead; by which men must practise, and by which three or four generations of men more (as happens) must live or die. 10. And all this while the men are sick, and they take things that certainly make them sicker for the present, and very uncertainly restore health for the future: that it may appear of what a large extent is human calamity; when God's providence hath not only made it weak and miserable upon the certain stock of a various nature, and upon the accidents of an infinite contingency; but even from the remedies which are appointed, our dangers and our troubles are certainly increased: so that we may well be likened to water; our nature is no stronger, our abode no more certain; if the sluices be opened, *it falls away and runneth apace;* if its current be stopped, it swells and grows troublesome, and spills

spills over with a greater diffusion; if it be made to stand still, it putrifies: and all this we do. For,

4. In all the process of our health we are running to our grave: we open our own sluices by viciousness and unworthy actions; we pour in drink, and let out life; we increase diseases, and know not how to bear them; we strangle ourselves with our own intemperance; we suffer the fevers and inflammations of lust, and we quench our souls with drunkenness; we bury our understandings in loads of meat and surfeits: and then we lie down upon our beds, and roar with pain and disquietness of our souls: nay, we kill one anothers souls and bodies with violence and folly, with the effects of pride and uncharitableness; we live and die like fools, and bring a new mortality upon ourselves; wars and vexatious cares, and private duels and public disorders, and every thing that is unreasonable, and every thing that is violent: so that now we may add this fourth gate to the grave: besides *nature* and *chance*, and *the mistakes of art*, men die with their *own sins*, and then enter into the grave in haste and passion, and pull the heavy stone of the monument upon their own heads. And thus we make ourselves like water spilt on the ground; we throw away our lives as if they were unprofitable, (and indeed most men make them so); we let our years slip through our fingers like water; and nothing is to be seen, but like a shower of tears upon a spot of ground; there is a grave digged, and a solemn mourning and a great talk in the neighbourhood, and when the days are finished, they shall be, and they shall be remembered, no more: and that is like water too, when it is spilt, *it cannot be gathered up again.*

There is no redemption from the grave.

——inter se mortales mutua vivunt
Et quasi cursores vitäi lampada tradunt.

Men

Men live in their course and by turns; their light burns awhile, and then it burns blue and faint, and men go to converse with spirits, and then they reach the taper to another; and as the hours of yesterday can never return again, so neither can the man whose hours they were, and who lived them over once; he shall never come to live them again, and live them better. When *Lazarus*, and the widow's son of *Naim*, and *Tabitha*, and the saints that appeared in *Jerusalem* at the resurrection of our blessed Lord arose, they came into this world, some as strangers only to make a visit, and all of them to manifest a glory; but none came upon the stock of a new life, or entered upon the stage as at first, or to perform the course of a new nature: and therefore it is observable, that we never read of any wicked person that was raised from the dead: *Dives* would fain have returned to his brother's house; but neither he, nor any from him could be sent: but all the rest in the New Testament (one only excepted) were expressed to have been holy persons, or else by their age were declared innocent. *Lazarus* was beloved of Christ: those souls that appeared at the resurrection were the souls of saints: *Tabitha* raised by St. *Peter* was a charitable and a holy Christian: and the maiden of twelve years old, raised by our blessed Saviour, had not entered into the regions of choice and sinfulness: and the only exception of the widow's son, is indeed none at all, for in it the Scripture is wholly silent; and therefore it is very probable that the same process was used, God in all other instances having chosen to exemplify his miracles of nature to purposes of the Spirit, and in spiritual capacities. So that although the Lord of Nature did break the bands of nature in some instances, to manifest his glory to succeeding great and never failing purposes; yet (besides that this shall be no more) it was also instanced in such persons who

who were holy and innocent, and within the verge and comprehensions of the eternal mercy. We never read that a wicked person felt such a miracle, or was raised from the grave to try the second time for a crown; but where he fell, there he lay down dead, and saw the light no more.

This consideration I intend to you as a severe monitor and an advice of carefulness, that you order your affairs so that you may be partakers of the first resurrection; that is from sin to grace, from the death of vicious habits, to the vigour, life, and efficacy of an habitual righteousness: for, (as it happened to those persons in the New Testament now mentioned, to them, (I say,) in the literal sense) *Blessed are they that have part in the first resurrection, upon them the second death shall have no power:* meaning that they who by the power of Christ and his Holy Spirit were raised to life again, were holy and blessed souls, and such who were written in the book of God; and that this grace happened to no wicked and vicious person: so it is most true in the spiritual and intended sense: you only that serve God in a holy life; you who are not dead in trespasses and sins; you who serve God with an early diligence and an unwearied industry, and a holy religion, you and you only shall come to life eternal, you only shall be called from death to life; the rest of mankind shall never live again, but pass from death to death; from one death to another, to a worse; from the death of the body to the eternal death of body and soul: and therefore in the apostle's creed there is no mention made of the resurrection of wicked persons; but of *the resurrection of the body to everlasting life.* The wicked indeed shall be haled forth from their graves, from their everlasting prisons, where in chains of darkness they are kept unto the judgment of the great day: but this therefore cannot be called *in sensu favoris*, a resurrection, but the solemnities of the eternal death; it is nothing but a new capacity of dying

dying again; such a dying as cannot signify rest; but where death means nothing but an intolerable and never ceasing calamity: and therefore these words of my text are otherwise to be understood of the wicked, otherwise of the godly: the wicked are spilt like water and shall never be gathered up again; no not in the gatherings of eternity; they shall be put into vessels of wrath and set upon the flames of hell; but that is not *a gathering*, but *a scattering* from the face and presence of God. But the godly also come under the sense of these words: they descend into their graves, and shall no more be reckoned among the living; they have no concernment in all that is done under the sun. *Agamemnon* hath no more to do with the Turks armies invading and possessing that part of *Greece* where he reigned, than had the *Hippocentaur*, who never had a being: and *Cicero* hath no more interest in the present evils of Christendom, than we have to do with his boasted discovery of *Catiline*'s conspiracy. What is it to me that *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*? and what is it now to *Camillus* if different religions be tolerated amongst us? These things that now happen concern the living, and they are made the scenes of our duty or danger respectively: and when our wives are dead and sleep in charnel houses, they are not troubled when we laugh loudly at the songs sung at the next marriage feast; nor do they envy when another snatches away the gleanings of their husband's passion.

It is true, they envy not, and they lie in a bosom where there can be no murmur; and they that are consigned to kingdoms, and to the feast of the marriage-supper of the Lamb, the glorious and eternal Bridegroom of holy souls, they cannot think our marriages here, our lighter laughings and vain rejoicings, considerable as to them. And *yet there is a relation continued still: Aristotle* said, that to affirm the dead take no thought for the good of the living, is a disparagement to the laws of that friendship which in their state

state of separation they cannot be tempted to rescind. And the church hath taught in general, that they pray for us, they recommend to God the state of all their relatives, in the union of the intercession that our blessed Lord makes for them and us: and St. *Ambrose* gave some things in charge to his dying brother *Satyrus*, that he should do for him in the other world: he gave it him (I say) when he was dying, not when he was dead. And certain it is that though our dead friends affections to us is not to be estimated according to our low conceptions, yet it is not less, but much more than ever it was; it is greater in degree, and of another kind.

But then we should do well also to remember, that in this world we are something besides flesh and blood; that we may not without violent necessities run into new relations, but preserve the affections we bore to our dead when they were alive: we must not so live as if they were perished, but so as pressing forward to the most intimate participation of the communion of saints. And we also have some ways to express this relation, and to bear a part in this communion, by actions of intercourse with them, and yet proper to our state: such as are strictly performing the will of the dead, providing for, and tenderly and wisely educating their children, paying their debts, imitating their good example, preserving their memories privately, and publicly keeping their memorials, and desiring of God with hearty and constant prayer that God would give them a joyful resurrection, and a merciful judgment, (for so St. *Paul* prayed in behalf of *Onesiphorus*) that *God would shew them mercy in that day*,* that fearful, and yet much to be desired day, in which the most righteous person hath need of much mercy and pity, and shall find it. Now these instances of duty shew that the relation remains still;

* 2 Tim. i. 18.

and

and though the relict of a man or woman hath liberty to contract new relations, yet I do not find they have liberty to cast off the old, as if there were no such things as immortality of souls. Remember that we shall converse together again; let us therefore never do any thing of reference to them which we shall be ashamed of in the day when all secrets shall be discovered, and that we shall meet again in the presence of God: in the mean time God watcheth concerning all their interest, and he will in his time both discover and recompense. For though, as to us, they are like water spilt; yet to God, they are as water fallen in the sea, safe and united in his comprehension, and inclosures.

But we are not yet passed the consideration of the sentence: this descending to the grave is the lot of all men, [*neither doth God respect the person of any man.*] The rich is not protected for favour, nor the poor for pity, the old man is not reverenced for his age, nor the infant regarded for his tenderness; youth and beauty, learning and prudence, wit and strength lie down equally in the dishonours of the grave. All men, and all natures, and all persons resist the addresses and solemnities of death, and strive to preserve a miserable and unpleasant life; and yet they all sink down and die. For so have I seen the pillars of a building assisted with artificial props bending under the pressure of a roof, and pertinaciously resisting the infallible and prepared ruin,

Donec certa dies omni compage solutâ
Ipsum cum rebus subruat auxilium,

Till the determined day comes, and then the burden sunk upon the pillars, and disordered the aids and auxiliary rafters into a common ruin and a ruder grave: so are the desires and weak arts of man; with little aids and assistances of care and physic we strive to support

support our decaying bodies, and to put off the evil day; but quickly that day will come, and then neither angels nor men can rescue us from our grave; but the roof sinks down upon the walls, and the walls descend to the foundation; and the beauty of the face, and the dishonours of the belly, the discerning head and the servile feet, the thinking heart and the working hand, the eyes and the guts together shall be crushed into the confusion of a heap, and dwell with creatures of an equivocal production, with worms and serpents, the sons and daughters of our own bones, in a house of dirt and darkness.

Let not us think to be excepted or deferred: if beauty, or wit, or youth, or nobleness, or wealth, or virtue could have been a defence, and an excuse from the grave, we had not met here to day to mourn upon the hearse of an excellent lady: and God only knows for which of us next the mourners shall go about the streets or weep in houses.

Ζεὺς μὲν πε τόγε οἶδε, και ἀθάναλοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι
Ὁπωολέρῳ θανάτοιο τέλῳ πεπρώμενον ἐσὶν. *Il. γ.*

We have lived so many years; and every day and every minute we make an escape from those thousands of dangers and deaths that encompass us round about: and such escapings we must reckon to be an extraordinary fortune, and therefore that it cannot last long. Vain are the thoughts of man, who when he is young or healthful, thinks he hath a long thread of life to run over, and that it is violent and strange for young persons to die; and natural and proper only for the aged. It is as natural for a man to die by drowning as by a fever: and what greater violence or more unnatural thing is it, that the horse threw his rider into the river, than that a drunken meeting cast him into a fever? And the strengths of youth are as soon broken by the strong sicknesses of youth, and the stronger

intemperance, as the weakness of old age by a cough or an asthma, or a continual rheum: nay, it is *more natural* for young men and women to die than for old; because that is *more natural* which hath more natural causes, and that is more natural which is most common: but to die with age is an extreme rare thing; and there are more persons carried forth to burial before the five-and-thirtieth year of their age, than after it: and therefore let no vain confidence make you hope for long life: if you have lived but little, and are still in youth, remember that now you are in your biggest throng of dangers both of body and soul; and the proper sins of youth to which they rush infinitely and without consideration, are also the proper and immediate instruments of death. But if you be old you have escaped long and wonderfully, and the time of your escaping is out: you must not for ever think to live upon wonders, or that God will work miracles to satisfy your longing follies, and unreasonable desires of living longer to sin and to the world. Go home and think to die, and what you would choose to be doing when you die, that do daily: for you will all come to that pass to rejoice that you did so, or wish that you had: that will be the condition of every one of us; for *God regardeth no man's person.*

Well! but all this you will think is but a sad story: What? we must die, and go to darkness and dishonour; and we must die quickly, and we must quit all our delights, and all our sins, or do worse, infinitely worse; and this is the condition of us all, from which none can be excepted; every man shall be spilt and fall into the ground, and *be gathered up no more.* Is there no comfort after all this? *Shall we go from hence, and be no more seen,* and have no recompense?

Miser, ô miser, aiunt, omnia ademit
Una die infausta mihi tot præmia vitæ.

Shall

Shall we exchange our fair dwellings for a coffin, our softer beds for the moistened and weeping turf, and our pretty children for worms; and is there no allay to this huge calamity? yes, there is. There is a [*yet*] in the text: [*For all this, yet doth God devise means that his banished be not expelled from him.*] All this sorrow and trouble is but a phantasm, and receives its account and degrees from our present conceptions, and the proportion to our relishes and gust.

When *Pompey* saw the ghost of his first lady *Julia*, who vexed his rest and his conscience for superinducing *Cornelia* upon her bed within the ten months of mourning, he presently fancied it, either to be an illusion, or else that death could be no very great evil:

Aut nihil est sensus animis in morte relictum,
Aut mors ipsa nihil——

Either my dead wife knows not of my unhandsome marriage and forgetfulness of her; or if she does, then the dead live.

——longæ, canitis si cognita, vitæ
Mors media est——

Death is nothing but the middle point between two lives, between this and another: concerning which comfortable mystery the holy Scripture instructs our faith and entertains our hope in these words: God is still the *God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; for all do live to him;* and the souls of saints are with Christ:* *I desire to be dissolved* (saith St. *Paul*) *and to be with Christ, for that is much better:* and, *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord; they rest*

* Vide 1 Cor. xv. 18; 1 Thess. iv. 16; Rev. xiv. 13; John v. 24; 2 Cor. v. 8. & 6.

from their labours, and their works follow them: For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens: and this state of separation St. *Paul* calls, *a being absent from the body, and being present with the Lord.* This is one of God's means which he hath devised, that although our dead are like persons banished from this world, yet they are not expelled from God: they are *in the hands of Christ;* they are *in his presence;* they are, or shall be *clothed with a house of God's making; they rest from all their labours; all tears are wiped from their eyes,* and all discontents from their spirits; and in the state of separation, before the soul be re-invested with her new house, the spirits of all persons are with God, so secured, and so blessed, and so sealed up for glory, that this state of interval and imperfection is, in respect of its certain event and end, infinitely more desirable than all the riches, and all the pleasures, and all the vanities, and all the kingdoms of this world.

I will not venture to determine what are the circumstances of the abode of holy souls in their separate dwellings: and yet possibly that might be easier than to tell what or how the soul is and works in this world, where it is in the body *tanquam in alienâ domo,* as in a prison, in fetters and restraints; for here the soul is discomposed and hindered; it is not as it shall be, as it ought to be, as it was intended to be; it is not permitted to its own freedom, and proper operation; so that all that we can understand of it here, is that it is so incommodated with a troubled and abated instrument, that the *object* we are to consider cannot be offered to us in a right line, in just and equal propositions; or if it could, yet because we are to understand the soul by the soul, it becomes not only a troubled and *abused object,* but a *crooked instrument;* and we here can consider it just as a weak eye can behold

a staff thrust into the waters of a troubled river; the very water makes a refraction, and the storm doubles the refraction, and the water of the eye doubles the species, and there is nothing right in the thing; the object is out of its just place, and the medium is troubled, and the organ is impotent: *At cum exierit & in liberum cœlum quasi in domum suam venerit;* when the soul is entered into her own house, into the free regions of the rest, and the neighbourhood of heavenly joys, then its operations are more spiritual, proper, and proportioned to its being; and though we cannot see at such a distance, yet the object is more fitted if we had a capable understanding; it is in itself in a more excellent and free condition.

Certain it is that the body does hinder many actions of the soul: it is an imperfect body, and a diseased brain, or a violent passion that makes fools. No man hath a foolish soul; and the reasonings of men have infinite difference and degrees, by reason of the body's constitution. Among beasts, which have no reason, there is a greater likeness than between men, who have: and as by faces it is easier to know a man from a man, than a sparrow from a sparrow, or a squirrel from a squirrel; so the difference is very great in our souls; which difference, because it is not originally in the soul (and indeed cannot be in simple or spiritual substances of the same species or kind) it must needs derive wholly from the body, from its accidents and circumstances; from whence it follows, that because the body casts fetters and restraints, hindrances and impediments upon the soul, that the soul is much freer in the state of separation; and if it hath any act of life, it is much more noble and expedite.

That the soul is alive after our death, St. *Paul* affirms, [*Christ died for us, that whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him.**] Now it

* 1 Thess. v. 10.

were

were strange that we should be alive, and live with *Christ*, and yet do no act of life. The body when it is asleep does many; and if the soul does none, the principle is less active than the instrument; but if it does any act at all in separation, it must necessarily be an act or effect of understanding; there is nothing else it can do. But this it can: for it is but a weak and an unlearned proposition to say, that the soul can do nothing of itself, nothing without the phantasms and provisions of the body: For,

1. In this life the soul hath one principle clearly separate, abstracted, and immaterial; I mean *the spirit of grace*, which is a principle of life and action, and in many instances does not at all communicate with matter, as in the infusion, superinduction and creation of spiritual graces.

2. As nutrition, generation, eating and drinking, are actions proper to the body and its state; so extasies, visions, raptures, intuitive knowledge, and consideration of itself, acts of volition, and reflex acts of understanding, are proper to the soul.

3. And therefore it is observable, that St. *Paul* said that *he knew not whether his visions and raptures were in or out of the body;* for by that we see his judgment of the thing, that one was as likely as the other, neither of them impossible or unreasonable; and therefore that the soul is as capable of action alone as in conjunction.

4. If in the state of blessedness there are some actions of the soul which do not pass through the body, such as contemplation of God, and conversing with spirits, and receiving those influences and rare immissions which coming from the holy and mysterious Trinity make up the crown of glory; it follows, that the necessity of the bodies ministry is but during the state of this life, and as long as it converses with fire and water, and lives with corn and flesh, and is fed by the satisfaction of material appetites; which necessity and manner

manner of conversation when it ceases, it can be no longer necessary for the soul to be served by phantasms and material representations.

5. And therefore when the body shall be re-united, it shall be so ordered that then the body shall confess it gives not any thing, but receives all its being and operation, its manner and abode from the soul; and that then it comes not to serve a necessity, but to partake a glory. For as the operations of the soul in this life begin in the body, and by it the object is transmitted to the soul; so then they shall begin in the soul, and pass to the body: and as *the operations of the soul* by reason of its dependence on the body are *animal, natural, and material;* so in the resurrection *the body* shall be *spiritual* by reason of the pre-eminence, influence, and prime operation of the soul. Now between these two states stands the state of separation, in which the operations of the soul are of a middle nature, that is, not so spiritual as in the resurrection, and not so animal and natural as in the state of conjunction.

To all which I add this consideration, that our souls have the same condition that Christ's soul had in the state of separation, because he took on him all our nature, and all our condition; and it is certain, Christ's soul in the three days of his separation did exercise acts of life, of joy and triumph, and did not sleep, but visited the souls of the fathers, trampled upon the pride of devils, and satisfied those longing souls which were *prisoners of hope:* and from all this we may conclude, that the souls of all the servants of Christ are alive, and therefore do the actions of life, and proper to their state; and therefore it is highly probable that the soul works clearer, and understands brighter, and discourses wiser, and rejoices louder, and loves nobler, and desires purer, and hopes stronger than it can do here.

But if these arguments should fail, yet the felicity of God's

God's saints cannot fail. For suppose the body to be a necessary instrument, but out of tune and discomposed by sin and anger, by accident and chance, by defect and imperfections, yet that it is better than none at all; and that if the soul works imperfectly with an imperfect body, that then she works not at all when she hath none: and suppose also that the soul should be as much without sense or preception in death, as it is in a deep sleep, which is the image and shadow of death; yet then God devises other means that his banished be not expelled from him. For,

2. God will restore the soul to the body, and raise the body to such a perfection that it shall be an organ fit to praise him upon; it shall be made spiritual to minister to the soul, when the soul is turned into a spirit; then the soul shall be brought forth by angels from her incomparable and easy bed, from her rest in Christ's holy bosom, and be made perfect in her being, and in all her operations. And this shall first appear by that perfection which the soul shall receive as instrumental to the last judgment; for then she shall see clearly all the records of this world, all the register of her own memory: for all that we did in this life is laid up in our memories; and though dust and forgetfulness be drawn upon them, yet when God shall lift us from our dust, then shall appear clearly all that we have done, written in the tables of our conscience, which is the soul's memory. We see many times, and in many instances, that a great memory is hindered and put out, and we thirty years after come to think of something that lay so long under a curtain; we think of it suddenly, and without a line of deduction, or proper consequence: and all those famous memories of *Simonides* and *Theodactes*, of *Hortensius* and *Seneca*, of *Sceptius*, *Metrodorus*, and *Carneades*, of *Cyneas* the embassador of *Pyrrhus*, are only the records better kept, and less disturbed by accident and disease: for even the memory of *Herod's* son of *Athens*, of *Bathyllus*, and

and the dullest person now alive, is so great, and by God made so sure a record of all that ever he did, that as soon as ever God shall but tune our instrument, and draw the curtains, and but light up the candle of immortality, there we shall find it all, there we shall see all and the whole world shall see all; then we shall be made fit to converse with God after the manner of spirits, we shall be like to angels.

In the mean time, although upon the persuasion of the former discourse it be highly probable that the souls of God's servants do live in a state of present blessedness, and in the exceeding joys of a certain expectation of the revelation of the day of the Lord, and the coming of Jesus; yet it will concern us only to secure our state by holy living, and leave the event to God, that (as St. *Paul* said) whether present or absent, whether sleeping or waking, whether perceiving or perceiving not, we may be accepted of him; that when we are banished this world, and from the light of the sun, we may not be expelled from God, and from the light of his countenance, but that from our beds of sorrows our souls may pass into the bosom of Christ, and from thence to his right hand in the day of sentence: *for we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ;* and then if we have done well in the body, we shall never be expelled from the beatifical presence of God, but be domestics of his family, and heirs of his kingdom, and partakers of his glory. *Amen.*

I HAVE now done with my text, but yet am to make you another sermon. I have told you the necessity and the state of death, it may be tóo largely for such a sad story; I shall therefore now with a better compendium teach you how to live, by telling you a plain narrative of a life, which if you imitate, and write after the copy, it will make that death shall not be an evil, but a thing to be desired, and to be reckoned

oned among the purchases and advantages of your fortune. When *Martha* and *Mary* went to weep over the grave of their brother, Christ met them there, and preached a funeral sermon, discoursing of the resurrection, and applying to the purposes of faith, and confession of Christ, and glorification of God. We have no other, we can have no better precedent to follow: and now that we are come to weep over the grave of our dear sister, this rare personage, we cannot choose but have many virtues to learn, many to imitate, and some to exercise.

I choose not to declare her extraction and genealogy; it was indeed fair and honourable; but having the blessing to be descended from worthy and honoured ancestors, and herself to be adopted and ingrafted into a more noble family; yet she felt such outward appendages to be none of hers, because not of her choice, but the purchase of the virtues of others, which although they did engage her to do noble things, yet they would upbraid all degenerate and less honourable lives than were those which began and increased the honour of the families. She did not love her fortune for making her noble; but thought it would be a dishonour to her if she did not continue a nobleness and excellency of virtue fit to be owned by persons relating to such ancestors. It is fit for us all to honour the nobleness of a family: but it is also fit for them that are noble to despise it, and to establish their honour upon the foundation of doing excellent things, and suffering in good causes, and despising dishonourable actions, and in communicating good things to others: for this is the rule in nature; those creatures are most honourable which have the greatest power, and do the greatest good: and accordingly myself have been a witness of it, how this excellent lady would by an act of humility and Christian abstraction strip herself of all that fair appendage and exterior honour which decked her person and her fortune, and desired

desired to be owned by nothing but what was her own, that she might only be esteemed honourable according to that which is the honour of a Christian, and a wise person.

2. She had a strict and severe education, and it was one of God's graces and favours to her: for being the heiress of a great fortune, and living amongst the throng of persons in the sight of vanities and empty temptations, that is, in that part of the kingdom where greatness is too often expressed in great follies and great vices, God had provided a severe and angry education to chastise the forwardnesses of a young spirit and a fair fortune, that she might for ever be so far distant from a vice, that she might only see it and loath it, but never taste of it, so much as to be put to her choice whether she would be virtuous or no. God intending to secure this soul to himself, would not suffer the follies of the world to seize upon her by way of too near a trial or busy temptation.

3. She was married young; and besides her businesses of religion, seemed to be ordained in the providence of God to bring to this honourable family a part of a fair fortune, and to leave behind her a fairer issue, worth ten thousand times her portion: and as if this had been all the public business of her life, when she had so far served God's ends, God in mercy would also serve her's, and take her to an early blessedness.

4. In passing through which line of providence, she had the art to secure her eternal interest, by turning her condition into duty, and expressing her duty in the greatest eminency of a virtuous, prudent, and rare affection, that hath been known in any example. I will not give her so low a testimony, as to say only that she was chaste; she was a person of that severity, modesty, and close religion (as to that particular) that she was not capable of uncivil temptation; and you might as well have suspected the sun to smell of the poppy that he looks on, as that she could have been a person

person apt to be sullied by the breath of a foul question.

5. But that which I shall note in her, is that which I would have exemplary to all ladies, and to all women: she had a love so great for her lord, so intirely given up to a dear affection, that she thought the same things, and loved the same loves, and hated according to the same enmities, and breathed in his soul, and lived in his presence, and languished in his absence; and all that she was or did, was only for and to her dearest lord:

Si gaudet, si flet, si tacet, hunc loquitur,
Cœnat, propinat, poscit, negat, innuit, unus
Nævius est:——

And although this was a great enamel to the beauty of her soul, yet it might in some degrees be also a reward to the virtue of her lord: for she would often discourse it to them that conversed with her, that he would improve that interest which he had in her affection to the advantages of God and of religion; and she would delight to say, that he called her to her devotions, he encouraged her good inclinations, he directed her piety, he invited her with good books; and then she loved religion, which she saw was not only pleasing to God, and an act or state of duty, but pleasing to her lord, and an act also of affection and conjugal obedience; and what at first she loved the more forwardly for his sake, in the using of religion, left such relishes upon her spirit, that she found in it amiability enough to make her love it for its own. So God usually brings us to him by instruments of nature and affections, and then incorporates us into his inheritance by the more immediate relishes of heaven, and the secret things of the spirit. He only was (under God) the light of her eyes, and the cordial of her spirits, and the guide of her actions, and the measure of her affections, till her affections swelled up into a religion, and then it could go

go no higher, but was confederate with those other duties which made her dear to God: which rare combination of duty and religion, I choose to express in the words of *Solomon; she forsook not the guide of her youth, nor brake the covenant of her God.* *

6. As she was a rare wife, so she was an excellent mother: for in so tender a constitution of spirit as her's was, and in so great a kindness towards her children, there hath seldom been a stricter and more curious care of their persons, their deportment, their nature, their disposition, their learning, and their customs: and if ever kindness and care did contest, and make parties in her, yet her care and her severity was ever victorious; and she knew not how to do an ill turn to their severer part, by her more tender and forward kindness. And as her custom was, she turned this also into love to her lord: for she was not only diligent to have them bred nobly and religiously, but also was careful and solicitous that they should be taught to observe all the circumstances and inclinations, the desires and wishes of their father; as thinking that virtue to have no good circumstances, which was not dressed by his copy, and ruled by his lines, and his affections: and her prudence in the managing her children was so singular and rare, that whenever you mean to bless this family, and pray a hearty and a profitable prayer for it, beg of God, that the children may have those excellent things which she designed to them, and provided for them in her heart and wishes, that they may live by her purposes, and may grow thither, whither she would fain have brought them. All these were great parts of an excellent religion, as they concerned her greatest temporal relations.

7. But if we examine how she demeaned herself towards God, there also you will find her not of a com-

* Prov. ii. 17.

mon,

mon, but of an exemplary piety: she was a great reader of scripture, confining herself to great portions every day; which she read not to the purposes of vanity, and impertinent curiosities, not to seem knowing, or to become talking, not to expound and rule; but to teach her all her duty, to instruct her in the knowledge and love of God and of her neighbours; to make her more humble, and to teach her to despise the world and all its gilded vanities: and that she might entertain passions wholly in design and order to heaven. I have seen a female religion that wholly dwelt upon the face and tongue; that like a wanton and an undressed tree spends all its juice in suckers and irregular branches, in leaves and gum, and after all such goodly outsides you should never eat an apple, or be delighted with the beauties, or the perfumes of a hopeful blossom. But the religion of this excellent lady was of another constitution: it took root downward in humility, and brought forth fruit upward in the substantial graces of a Christian, in charity and justice, in chastity and modesty, in fair friendships and sweetness of society: she had not very much of the forms and outsides of godliness, but she was hugely careful for the power of it, for the moral, essential, and useful parts; such which would make her be, not seem to be, religious.

8. She was a very constant person at her prayers, and spent all her time which nature did permit to her choice, in her devotions, and reading and meditating, and the necessary offices of household government; every one of which is an action of religion, some by nature, some by adoption. To these also God gave her *a very great love to hear the word of God preached;* in which because I had sometimes the honour to minister to her, I can give this certain testimony, that she was a diligent, watchful, and attentive hearer: and to this had so excellent a judgment, that if ever I saw a woman whose judgment was to be revered,

vered, it was her's alone: and I have sometimes thought that the eminency of her discerning faculties did reward a pious discourse, and placed it in the regions of honour and usefulness, and gathered it up from the ground, where commonly such homilies are spilt, or scattered in neglect and inconsideration. But her appetite was not soon satisfied with what was useful to her soul: she was also a constant reader of sermons, and seldom missed to read one every day; and that she might be full of instruction and holy principles, she had lately designed to have a large book, in which she purposed to have a stock of religion transcribed in such assistances as she would choose, that she might be *readily furnished and instructed to every good work.* But God prevented that, and hath filled her desires, not out of cisterns and little aqueducts, but hath carried her to the fountain, where *she drinks of the pleasures of the river,* and is full of God.

9. She always lived a life of much innocence, free from the violences of great sins: her person, her breeding, her modesty, her honour, her religion, her early marriage, the guide of her soul, and the guide of her youth, were as so many fountains of restraining grace to her, to keep her from the dishonours of a crime. *Bonum est portare jugum ab adolescentiâ,* it is good to bear the yoke of the Lord from our youth; and though she did so, being guarded by a mighty providence, and a great favour and grace of God from staining her fair soul with the spots of hell, yet she had strange fears and early cares upon her; but these were not only for herself, but in order to others, to her nearest relatives: for she was so great a lover of this honourable family of which now she was a mother, that she desired to become a channel of great blessings to it unto future ages, and was extremely jealous lest any thing should be done, or lest any thing had been done, though an age or two since, which should intail a curse

a curse upon the innocent posterity; and therefore (although I do not know that ever she was tempted with an offer of the crime) yet she did infinitely remove all sacrilege *from her thoughts*, and delighted to see her estate of a clear and disentangled interest: she would have no mingled rights with it; she would not receive any thing from the church, but religion and a blessing: and she never thought a curse and a sin far enough off, but would desire it to be infinitely distant; and that as to this family God had given much honour and a wise head to govern it, so he would also for ever give many more blessings: and because she knew the sins of parents descend upon children, she endeavoured by justice and religion, by charity and honour to secure that her channel should convey nothing but health, and a fair example and a blessing.

10. And though her accounts to God were made up of nothing but small parcels, little passions, and angry words, and trifling discontents, which are the allays of the piety of the most holy persons; yet she was early at her repentance; and toward the latter end of her days, grew so fast in religion, as if she had had a revelation of her approaching end, and therefore that she must go a great way in a little time: her discourses more full of religion, her prayers more frequent, her charity increasing, her forgiveness more forward, her friendships more communicative, her passion more under discipline; and so she trimmed her lamp, not thinking her night was so near, but that it might shine also in the day-time, in the temple, and before the altar of incense.

But in this course of her's there were some circumstances, and some appendages of substance, which were highly remarkable.

1. In all her religion, in all her actions of relation towards God, she had a strange evenness and untroubled passage, sliding toward her ocean of God and of infinity with a certain and silent motion. So have I seen

seen a river deep and smooth passing with a still foot and a sober face, and paying to the *fiscus*, the great exchequer of the sea, the prince of all the watry bodies, a tribute large and full: and hard by it a little brook skipping and making a noise upon its unequal and neighbour bottom; and after all its talking and bragged motion, it payed to its common audit no more than the revenues of a little cloud, or a contemptible vessel: so have I sometimes compared the issues of her religion to the solemnities and famed outsides of another's piety. It dwelt upon her spirit, and was incorporated with the periodical work of every day: she did not believe that religion was intended to minister to fame and reputation, but to pardon of sins, to the pleasure of God, and the salvation of souls. For religion is like the breath of heaven; if it goes abroad into the open air, it scatters and dissolves like camphire: but if it enters into a secret hollowness, into a close conveyance, it is strong and mighty, and comes forth with vigour and great effect at the other end, at the other side of this life, in the days of death and judgment.

2. The other appendage of her religion, which also was a great ornament to all the parts of her life, was a rare modesty and humility of spirit, a confident despising and undervaluing of herself. For though she had the greatest judgment, and the greatest experience of things and persons that I ever yet knew in a person of her youth, and sex, and circumstances; yet as if she knew nothing of it, she had the meanest opinion of herself; and like a fair taper, when she shined to all the room, yet round about her own station she had cast a shadow and a cloud, and she shined to every body but herself. But the perfectness of her prudence and excellent parts could not be hid; and all her humility, and arts of concealment, made the virtues more amiable and illustrious. For as pride sullies the beauty of the fairest virtues, and makes our

understanding but like the craft and learning of a devil: so humility is the greatest eminency, and art of publication in the whole world; and she in all her arts of secrecy and hiding her worthy things, was but *like one that hideth the wind, and covers the ointment of her right hand.*

I know not by what instrument it happened; but when death drew near, before it made any show upon her body, or revealed itself by a natural signification, it was conveyed to her spirit: she had a strange secret persuasion that the bringing this child should be her last scene of life: and we have known, that the soul when she is about to disrobe herself of her upper garment, sometimes speaks rarely, *Magnifica verba mors propè admota excutit;* sometimes it is prophetical; sometimes God by a superinduced persuasion wrought by instruments, or accidents of his own, serves the ends of his own providence and the salvation of the soul: but so it was, that the thought of death dwelt long with her, and grew from the first steps of fancy and fear, to a consent, from thence to a strange credulity, and expectation of it; and without the violence of sickness she died, as if she had done it voluntarily, and by design, and for fear her expectation should have been deceived, or that she should seem to have had an unreasonable fear, or apprehension; or rather (as one said of *Cato*) *sic abiit è vitâ ut causam moriendi nactam se esse gauderet,* she died, as if she had been glad of the opportunity.

And in this I cannot but adore the providence, and admire the wisdom and infinite mercies of God: for having a tender and soft, a delicate and fine constitution and breeding, she was tender to pain, and apprehensive of it, as a child's shoulder is of a load and burden: *Grave est teneræ cervici jugum;* and in her often discourses of death, which she would renew willingly and frequently, she would tell, that she feared not death, but she feared the sharp pains of death:

Emori

Emori nolo, me esse mortuam non curo: The being dead, and being freed from the troubles and dangers of this world, she hoped would be for her advantage, and therefore that was no part of her fear: but she believing the pangs of death were great, and the use and aids of reason little, had reason to fear lest they should do violence to her spirit and the decency of her resolution. But God that knew her fears and her jealousy concerning herself, fitted her with a death so easy, so harmless, so painless, that it did not put her patience to a severe trial. It was not (in all appearance) of so much trouble, as two fits of a common ague; so careful was God to remonstrate to all that stood in that sad attendance, that this soul was dear to him: and that since she had done so much of her duty towards it, he that began would also finish her redemption, by an act of a rare providence, and a singular mercy. *Blessed be that goodness of God, who does so careful actions of mercy for the ease and security of his servants.* But this one instance was a great demonstration that the apprehension of death is worse than the pains of death; and that God loves to reprove the unreasonableness of our fears, by the mightiness, and by the arts of his mercy.

She had in her sickness (if I may so call it, or rather in the solemnities and graver preparations towards death) some curious and well-becoming fears, concerning the final state of her soul: but from hence she passed into a *delirium*, or a kind of trance, and as soon as she came forth of it, as if it had been a vision, or that she had conversed with an angel, and from his hand had received a label or scroll of the *Book of Life* and there seen her name enrolled, she cried out aloud, [*Glory be to God on high: now I am sure I shall be saved.*] Concerning which manner of discoursing we are wholly ignorant what judgment can be made: but certainly there are strange things in the other world; and so there are in all the immediate preparations to

it; and a little glimpse of heaven, a minute's conversing with an angel, any ray of God, any communication extraordinary from the spirit of comfort, which God gives to his servants in strange and unknown manners, are infinitely far from illusions; and they shall then be understood by us, when we feel them, and when our new and strange needs shall be refreshed by such unusual visitations.

But I must be forced to use summaries and arts of abbreviature in the enumerating those things in which this rare personage was dear to God and to all her relatives.

If we consider her person, she was in the flower of her age, *Jucundum cum ætas florida ver ageret;* of a temperate, plain and natural diet, without curiosity or an intemperate palate; she spent less time in dressing than many servants; her recreations were little and seldom; her prayers often, her reading much: she was of a most noble and charitable soul; a great lover of honourable actions, and as great a despiser of base things; hugely loving to oblige others, and very unwilling to be in arrear to any upon the stock of courtesies and liberality; so free in all acts of favour, that she would not stay to hear herself thanked, as being unwilling that what good went from her to a needful or an obliged person should ever return to her again: she was an excellent friend, and hugely dear to very many, especially to the best and most discerning persons; to all that conversed with her, and could understand her great worth and sweetness: she was of an honourable, a nice, and tender reputation; and of the pleasures of this world, which were laid before her in heaps, she took a very small and inconsiderable share, as not loving to glut herself with vanity, or take her portion of good things here below.

If we look on her as a wife, she was chaste and loving, fruitful and discreet, humble and pleasant, witty and compliant, rich and fair; and wanted nothing to the

the making her a principal and precedent to the best wives of the world, but a long life, and a full age.

If we remember her as a mother, she was kind and severe, careful and prudent, very tender, and not at all fond, a greater lover of her children's souls than of their bodies, and one that would value them more by the strict rules of honour and proper worth, than by their relation to herself.

Her servants found her prudent, and fit to govern, and yet open-handed and apt to reward; a just exactor of their duty, and a great rewarder of their diligence.

She was in her house a comfort to her dearest lord, a guide to her children, a rule to her servants, an example to all.

But as she related to God in the offices of religion, she was even and constant, silent and devout, prudent and material; she loved what she now enjoys, and she feared what she never felt, and God did for her what she never did expect: her fears went beyond all her evil; and yet the good which she hath received was, and is, and ever shall be beyond all her hopes.

She lived as we all should live, and she died as I fain would die——

Et cum supremos Lachesis perneverit annos,
Non aliter cineres mando jacere meos.

I pray God I may feel those mercies on my death-bed that she felt, and that I may feel the same effect of my repentance which she feels of the many degrees of her innocence. Such was her death, that she did not die too soon; and her life was so useful and excellent, that she could not have lived too long. *Nemo parum diu vixit qui virtutis perfectæ perfecto functus est munere.* And as now in the grave it shall not be inquired concerning her, how long she lived, but how well; so to us who live after her, to suffer a longer calamity,

calamity, it may be some ease to our sorrows, and some guide to our lives, and some security to our conditions, to consider that God hath brought the piety of a young lady to the early rewards of a never-ceasing and never-dying eternity of glory: and we also, if we live as she did, shall partake of the same glories; not only having the honour of a good name, and a dear and honoured memory; but the glories of these glories, the end of all excellent labours, and all prudent counsels, and all holy religion, even the salvation of our souls in that day when all the saints, and among them this excellent woman shall be shewn to all the world to have done more, and more excellent things than we know of or can describe. *Mors illos consecrat, quorum exitum & qui timent, laudant:* death consecrates and makes sacred that person whose excellency was such, that they that are not displeased at the death, cannot dispraise the life; but they that mourn sadly, think they can never commend sufficiently.

THE

THE

WHOLE DUTY

OF

THE CLERGY,

IN LIFE, BELIEF, AND DOCTRINE,

DESCRIBED, AND PRESSED EFFECTUALLY ON THEIR CONSCIENCES:

IN TWO SERMONS ON TITUS II. 7, 8.

PREACHED IN SO MANY SEVERAL VISITATIONS.

SERMON IX.

THE

MINISTER'S DUTY,

IN

LIFE AND DOCTRINE.

TIT. II. 7, 8.

In all things shewing thyself a pattern of good works: in doctrine shewing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity.

Sound speech that cannot be condemned, that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of you.

AS God in the creation of the world first produced a mass of matter, having nothing in it but an obediential capacity and passivity; which God separating into classes of division, gave to every part a congruity to their respective forms, which in their distinct orbs and stations

stations they did receive in order, and then were made beauteous by separations and a new economy; and out of these he appointed some for servants, and some for government; and some to eat, and some to be eaten; some above and some below; some to be useful to all the rest, and all to minister to the good of man, whom he made the prince of the creation, and a minister of the divine glory: so God hath also done in the new creation; all the world was concluded under sin, it was a corrupt mass, and all mankind *had corrupted themselves;* but yet were capable of divine influences, and of a nobler form, producible in the new birth: here then God's Spirit moves upon the waters of a divine birth, and makes a separation of part from part, of corruption from corruption; and first chose some families to whom he communicated the divine influence and the breath of a nobler life; *Seth* and *Enoch*, *Noah* and *Abraham*, *Job* and *Bildad*, and these were the special repositories of the Divine Grace, and prophets of righteousness to glorify God in themselves, and in their sermons unto others. But this was like enclosing of the sun; he that shuts him in, shuts him out; and God who was and is an infinite goodness, would not be circumscribed and limited to a narrow circle: goodness is his nature, and infinite is his measure, and communication of that goodness is the motion of that eternal being: God *g.* breaks forth as out of a cloud, and picks out a whole nation; the sons of *Israel* becomes his family, and that soon swelled into a nation, and that nation multiplied till it became too big for their country, and by a necessary dispersion went, and did much good, and gained some servants to God out of other parts of mankind. But God was pleased to cast lots once more, and was like the sun already risen upon the earth, who spreads his rays to all the corners of the habitable world, that all that will open their eyes and draw their curtains, may see and rejoice in his light.

Here

Here God resolved to call all the world; he sent into the high ways and hedges, to the corners of the Gentiles, and the high ways of the Jews, all might come that would; for *the sound of the gospel went out into all lands:* and God chose all that came, but all would not; and those that did, he gathered into a fold, marked them with his own mark, sent his Son to be *the great shepherd and bishop of their souls;* and they became *a peculiar people unto God, a little flock, a new election.*

And here is the first separation and singularity of the gospel; all that hear the voice of Christ's first call, all that profess themselves his disciples, all that take his signature, they and their children are the church, an Ἐκκλησία, called out from the rest of the world, the *elect* and the *chosen of God.*

Now these being thus chosen out, culled and picked from the evil generations of the world, he separates them from others, to gather them to himself; he separates them and sanctifies them to become holy; to come out (not of the companies so much, as) from the evil manners of the world: God chooses them unto holiness, they are τεταγμενοι εις ζωὴν αἰώνιον, put in the right order to eternal life.

All Christians are *holy unto the Lord,* and *g.* must not be unholy in their conversation; for nothing that is unholy shall come near to God: that is the first great line of our duty: but God intends it further: all Christians must not be only holy, but *eminently holy.* For *John indeed baptized with water,* but that is but a dull and unactive element, and moves by no principle, but by being ponderous; Christ *baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire,* and God hates lukewarmness; and when he chooses to him a peculiar people, he adds, they must be *zealous of good works.*

But in this affair, there are many steps and great degrees of progression. 1. All God's people must be delivered from all sin; for as Christ came wholly *to destroy the works of the devil,* so he intends also to *present*

present his church a as pure virgin unto Christ; ἄσπιλον, ἀῤῥύσκοπον, εἰλικρινῆ, without scandal, without hypocrisy, *without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing*: for to be quit from sin, that is, from all affections to it, is supposed in the Christian's life: *denying ungodliness and worldly lusts,* and *being cleansed from all filthiness of flesh and spirit,* and *having escaped from all corruption that is in the world through lust;* this is not so much commanded as supposed: without this nothing can be done, nothing can be hoped: this is but the foundation of the Christian, who is intended to be *a habitation of God, a member of Christ, a temple of the holy Spirit of God:* the building follows.

2. All Christians must acquire all the graces of the Holy Spirit of God; St. *Peter* gives the catalogue [*Faith, and virtue, and knowledge, and temperance, and patience, and godliness, and brotherly kindness, and charity**] and that you may see what is the spirit of a Christian, what an activity and brisk principle is required to the acquisition of these things; the apostle gives this precept, that for the acquiring these things, *we should give* πᾶσαν σπουδὴν, *all diligence;* no lazy worker is a good Christian, he must be diligent; and *not every diligence,* nor *every degree of good diligence,* but it must be *all, omnem omnino diligentiam,* give all diligence.

3. There is yet another degree to be added here too: it is not enough for a Christian to be free from corruption, and to have these graces; and *g.* to be diligent, very diligent to obtain them; but they *must be in us and abound,*† N. B. they must be in us; these graces and this righteousness must be inherent; it is not enough for us that Christ had them for us; for it is true, if he had not had them, we should never have received those or any thing else that is good: but he

* 2 Pet. i. 5. † 2 Pet. i. 8.

had

had them, that we might have them, and follow his steps who knew no sin, and fulfilled all righteousness. They *must be in us*, saith St. *Peter;* and not only so, they must also abound in us, that is the end of Christ's death, that is the fruit of his Spirit: they must be plentiful like a vintage, or like *Euphrates* in the time of ripe fruits; they must swell over the banks; for when they are but *in gradu virtutis*, in the lowest step of sincerity, they may fall from the tree like unripe fruit, and be fit for nothing but for prodigals and swine; they must be in their season and period, great and excellent, and eminent; they must take up all our faculties, fill up all our time, spend all our powers, satisfy the will, and be adequate to all the powers of our choice; that is, as St. *Peter* adds, they must be so, that we *make our calling and election sure;* so as that we shall never any more depart from God: well thus far you see how severe and sacred a thing it is to be a Christian.

4. But there are yet three steps more beyond this: God requires of us perseverance; a thrusting all this forward, even unto the end: *without peace and holiness no man shall see God*, saith the author of the Hebrews; but that is not all, διώκετε εἰρήνην καὶ ἁγιασμόν, *follow after peace and holiness with all men*,* ἀνευ ὧν, without which; it is not ἀνευ ἧς εἰρήνης, without which peace, but ἀνευ τοῦ διώκειν, without which following of peace and holiness; that is, unless we endure all contradiction of sinners and objections; without following it close and home to the utmost issue, to the end of all righteousness, tending even to comprehension, to consummation and perfection, no man shall see God; διώκειν ἐν ἁγιασμῷ, is good and great to dwell in holiness: but that is not enough, it must be διώκειν too, we must still pursue it, and that unto the end: *for he that endureth unto the end shall be saved.*

* Heb. xii. 14.

5 And

5. And what more? yes there is something yet: for besides this extension of duration, there must be *intensio graduum*: for *nondum comprehendimus, nondum perfecti sumus*, we have not yet comprehended, we are not yet made perfect; but that must be aimed at; *Be ye perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect;* be *ye meek as Christ is*, be *ye holy as God is holy; pure as your Father in heaven is pure;* and who can be so? No man can be so in degree; but so in kind, every man must desire, and every man must contend to be, and *g.* it is possible, else it had never been required.

6. And now after all this, one thing more is to be done: you must be so for yourselves, and you must be so for others: you must be so as to please God, and you must be so to edify your brethren: *Let your light so shine before men, that they may glorify your Father which is in heaven;* let it be so eminent and conspicuous, that all that see your conversation, and all that come into your congregations may be convinced, and *falling down and worshipping, may say of a truth the Spirit of the Lord is in you.* And *g.* our Blessed Saviour in his sermon upon the mount, which is the summary of a Christian's life, at the end of the eight beatitudes, tells all his followers and disciples; *ye are the salt of the world, ye are the light of the world;* and *g.* the *kingdom of heaven*, or the gospel is compared *to a woman that hid in three measures of meal*, the *Jews*, the *Turks*, the Heathen Idolaters, *her leaven, till all was leavened:* our light must be so shining, our conversation so exemplary as to draw all the world after us; that they that will not, may be ashamed, and they that will, may be allured by the beauty of the flame. These are the propositions and measures of every Christian, for *from the days of John the Baptist, the kingdom of heaven suffers violence, and the violent take it by force;* that although *John the Baptist was the greatest that ever was born of woman*, yet, he that

that *is least in the kingdom of heaven*, the meanest of the laity, may be *greater than he*. This is a great height, and these things I have premised, not only to describe the duty of all that are here present, even of all Christians whatsoever, that you may not depart without your portion of a blessing; but also as a foundation of the ensuing periods, which I shall address to you my brethren of the clergy, the fathers of the people; for I speak in a school of the prophets, prophets and prophet's sons; to you who are or intend to be so.

For God hath made a seprration of you even beyond this separation: he hath separated you yet again; he hath put you anew into the crucible, he hath made you to pass through the fire seven times more. For it is true, that the whole community of the people is the church; *Ecclesia sancta est communio sanctorum*, the holy Catholic church is the communion of saints; but yet by the voice and consent of all Christendom, you are the church by way of propriety and eminency, and singularity [*church-men*] that is your appellative: all are ἀνδρὲς πνευμαλιχὸι, *spiritual men*, all have received the spirit, and all walk in the spirit, and ye are all *sealed by the Spirit unto the day of redemption*, and yet there is a spirituality peculiar to the clergy: *If any man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such a one in the spirit of meekness*:* you who are spiritual by office and designation, of a spiritual calling, and spiritual employment; you who have the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, and minister the Spirit of God, you are more eminently spiritual; you have the Spirit in graces and in powers, in sanctification and abilities, in office and in person; the *unction from above* hath descended upon your heads and your hearts; you are καὶ' ἐξοχὴν by way of eminence and prelation, *spiritual men*. All *the people of God were holy*; *Corah*

* Gal. vi. 1.

and

and his company were in the right so far; but yet *Moses* and *Aaron* were more holy, and stood nearer to God. All the people are prophets: it is now more than *Moses*, wish, for the Spirit of Christ hath made them so: *If any man prayeth or prophesieth with his head covered;* or *or if any woman prophesieth with her head uncovered*, they are dishonoured; but either man or woman may do that work in time and place; for *in the latter days I will pour out of my Spirit, and your daughters shall prophesy:* and yet God hath appointed in his church prophets above these, to whose spirit all the other prophets are subject; and as God said to *Aaron* and *Miriam* concerning *Moses*, *to you I am known in a dream or a vision, but to Moses I speak face to face;* so it is in the church, God gives of his Spirit to all men, but you he hath made the ministers of his Spirit: nay the people have their portion of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, so said St. *Paul; To whom ye forgive any thing, to him I forgive also;* and to the whole church of *Corinth* he gave a commission *in the name of Christ, and by his Spirit to deliver the incestuous person unto Satan;* and when the primitive penitents stood in their penitential stations, they did *Charis Dei adgeniculari, & toti populo legationem orationis suæ commendare;* and yet the keys were not only promised, but given to the apostles to be used then, and transmitted to all generations of the church; and we are *ministers of Christ, and stewards of the manifold mysteries of God; and to us is committed the word of reconciliation.* And thus in the consecration of the mysterious sacrament, the people have their portion; for the bishop or the priest blesses, and the people by saying *Amen* to the mystic prayer is partaker of the power, and the whole church hath a share in the power of spiritual sacrifice; *Ye are a royal priesthood, kings and priests unto God;* that is, so ye are priests as ye are kings; but yet kings and priests have a glory conveyed to them, of which the people

people partake but in minority, and allegory, and improper communication: but you are, and are to be respectively that considerable part of mankind by whom God intends to plant holiness in the world; by you God means to reign in the hearts of men; and *g.* you are to be the first in this kind, and consequently the measures of all the rest: to you *g.* I intend this, and some following discourses in order to this purpose: I shall but now lay the first stone, but it is the corner stone in this foundation.

But to you, I say, of the clergy, these things are spoken properly; to you these powers are conveyed really; upon you God hath poured his Spirit plentifully; you are the choicest of his choice, the elect of his election, a church picked out of the church, vessels of honour for your master's use, appointed to teach others, authorised to bless in his name; you are the ministers of Christ's priesthood, under-labourers in the great work of mediation and intercession, *medii inter Deum & populum;* you are for the people towards God, and convey answers and messages from God to the people: these things I speak, not only to magnify your office, but to enforce and heighten your duty; you are holy by office and designation; for your very appointment is a sanctification and a consecrartion, and *g.* whatever holiness God requires of the people, who have some little portions in the priesthood evangelical, he expects it of you, and much greater, to whom he hath conveyed so great honours, and admitted so near unto himself, and hath made to be the great ministers of his kingdom and his spirit: and now as *Moses* said to the Levitical schismatics, *Corah* and his company, so I may say to you, *Seemeth it but a small thing unto you that the God of Israel hath separated you from the congregation of Israel to bring you to himself, to do the service of the tabernacle of the Lord, and to stand before the congregation to minister to them? And he hath brought thee near to him*

*him.** Certainly if of every one of the Christian congregation God expects a holiness that mingles with no unclean thing; if God will not suffer of them a lukewarm and an indifferent service, but requires zeal of his glory, and that which St. *Paul* calls the πόνος τῆς ἀγάπης, the labour of love; if he will have them to be without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; if he will not endure any pollution in their flesh or spirit; if ye requires that their bodies, and souls, and spirits, he kept blameless unto the coming of the Lord Jesus; if he accepts of none of the people, unless they have within them the conjugation of the Christian graces; if he calls on them to abound in every grace, and that in all the periods of their progression, unto the ends of their lives, and to the consummation and perfection of grace; if he hath made them lights in the world, and the salt of the earth, to enlighten others by their good example, and to teach them and invite them by holy discourses, and wise counsels, and speech seasoned with salt; what is it think ye, or with what words is it possible to express what God requires of you? They are to be examples of good life to one another; but you are to be examples even of the examples themselves; that is your duty, that is the purpose of God, and that s the design of my text, *That in all things ye shew yourselves a pattern of good works; in doctrine shewing uncorruptedness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech that cannot be condemned; that he that is of the contrary part may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of you.*

Here then is, 1. Your duty. 2. The degree and excellency of your duty.

The duty is double: 1. Holiness of Life. 2. Integrity of doctrine. Both these have their heightenings in several degrees.

1. For your life and conversation, it ought not only

* Numb. xvi. 9.

to

to be good, not only to be holy, but to be so up to the degrees of an excellent example; *Ye must be a pattern.*

2. Ye must be patterns, not only of knowledge and wisdom, not of contemplation and skill in mysteries, not of unprofitable notions, and ineffective wit and eloquence; but of something that is more profitable, of something that may do good, something by which mankind shall be better; of something that shall contribute to the felicity and comfort of the world; *a pattern of good works.*

3. It must not be a τύπος, a type or pattern to be hidden or laid in tabernacles, like those images of *Molech* and *Remphan*, which the Spirit of God in the Old Testament calls סכות בנות *Succoth Benoth*, little repositories or boots to hide their images and patterns of their gods; but παρεχόμενοι τύπον, you must be exhibited and shewn forth, brought forth into action and visibility, and notorious observation.

4. There is also another mystery and duty in this word; for *Molech* and *Remphan* they were patterns and figures, but they were τύποι οὓς ἐποιήσαντο, patterns which *the people made;* but to *Titus* St. *Paul* commanded that he himself should be παρεχόμενος τύπον, he should give a pattern to the people; that is, the ministers of Christ must not be framed according to the people's humour, they must not give him rules, nor describe his measures; but he should be a rule to them; he is neither to live with them so as to please their humours, or to preach doctrines *populo ut placerent quas fecissent fabulas:* but the people are to require the doctrine at his mouth, and he is to become exemplary to them according to the pattern seen int he mount, according to the laws of the religion and the example of Christ.

5. It must be ἐν πᾶσιν; he must be a pattern in all things; it is not enough that the minister be a loving person, a good neighbourly man, that he be hospitable,

that he be not litigious, that he be harmless, and that he be diligent; but in every grace he must *præferre facem*, hold a torch, and shew himself a light in all the commands of God. These are the measures of his holiness, the pattern in his life and conversation.

Secondly, Integrity of doctrine. The matter of the doctrine you are to preach hath in it four qualifications.

1. It must be ἀδιάφθορον, *incorrupt;* that is, it must be καθ' ἀναλογίαν πίστεως, it must be according to the analogy of faith, no heretical mixtures; pure truths of God.

2. I it must be σεμνὸς, grave, and clean, and chaste; that is, ἄνευ φλυαρίας, no vain and empty notions, little contentions, and pitiful disputes; but becoming the wisdom of the guide of souls, and the ministers of Christ.

And 3. It must be ὑγιὴς, *sound speech*, so we read it; the word properly signifies *salutary* and *wholesome*; that is, such as is apt for edification, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν πίστεως καὶ ἀγάπης; for the building men up in a most holy faith, and a more excellent charity; not feeding the people with husks and drosse, with colocynths and gourds, with gay tulips and useless daffodils, but with the bread of life, and medicinal plants springing from the margin of the fountains of salvation. This is the matter of their doctrine; and this also hath some heightenings, and excellencies, and extraordinaries: For,

4. It must be ἀκαταγνώστον, so evidently demonstrated, that no man shall be able to reprove it; so certainly holy, that no man shall be willing to condemn it.

And 5. It must be ἄφθαρτον sincere, not polluted with foul intentions and little devices of secular interest, complying with the lusts of the potent, or the humours of the time; not biassed by partiality, or bending in the flexures of human policy: it must be

so

so conducted that your very enemies, schismatics and heretics, and all sorts of gainsayers, may see that you intend God's glory, and the good of souls; and *g.* that as they can say nothing against the doctrine delivered; so neither shall they find fault with him that delivers it: and he that observes all this, will indeed be a pattern both of life and doctrine; both of good words and good works.

But I shall not be so minute in my discourse, as in the division: the duties and the manner or degrees of the duties I shall handle together, and give you the best measures I can both for institution of life and excellency of doctrine, *It is required of every one of you, that in all things you shew yourselves a pattern of good works.*

That is the first thing required in a minister: and this is upon infinite accounts necessary; 1. In general; 2. In particular. 1. In general. The very first words of the whole Psalter are an argument of this necessity: *Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the chair of the mockers*, the seat of the scornful. The doctor's chair or pulpit must have nothing to do with the *irrisores*, that mock God, and mock the people; he must neither walk with them, nor stand with them, nor sit with them; that is, he must *have no fellowship with the unfruitful workers of darkness, but rather reprove them;* for they that do preach one thing and do another, are לֵצִים mockers; they destroy the benefit of the people, and diminish the blessings of God; and *binding burdens on the people's shoulders which they will not touch with the top of their finger*, they secretly laugh and mock at the people, as at the asses of *Issachar*, fit to be cozened into unnecessary burdens. These words are greatly to be regarded: the primitive church would admit no man to the superior orders of the clergy, unless among other pre-required dispositions, they could say all

David's Psalter by heart; and it was very well, besides many other reasons, that they might in the front read their own duty, so wisely and so mysteriously by the Spirit of God made preliminary to the whole office.

To the same purpose is that observation of St. *Hierome* made concerning the vesting of the priests in the Levitical ministrations; the priest put on the humeral, beset with precious stones, before he took the λόγιον, or the *rationale* upon his breast, to signify that first the priest must be a shining light, resplendent with good works, before he fed them with the γάλα λογικὸν, the rational milk of the word: concerning which symbolical precept you may please to read many excellent things to this purpose in St. *Hierome*'s Epistle to *Fabiola*. It will be more useful for us to consider those severe words of *David* in the 50th *Psalm; But unto the wicked, God saith, what hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth: seeing thou hatest instruction and casteth my words behind thee?** The words are a sad upbraiding to all ungodly ministers, and they need no commentary; for whatever their office and employment be to teach God's people, yet unless they regard the commandments of God in their heart and practice themselves, they have nothing to do with the Word of God, they sin in taking the covenant, a testament of God into their mouth. God said to the sinner, רשע *Raschaah*, that is, *to him that had sinned and had not repented of his sins;* so the *Chaldee* paraphrase reads it; *Impio a qui non agit pœnitentiam & orat in prævaricatione dixit Deus.* Indeed if none could be admitted to this ministry but those who had never sinned, the harvest might be very great, but the labourers would be extremely few, or rather none at all; but after repentance they must be admitted, and not be-

* Psal. l. 16, 17.

fore;

fore; *Iniquitas opilabit os eorum*, iniquity shall stop their mouths, saith *David*;* that ought to silence them indeed: and this was *David*'s care when he had fallen into the foul crimes of murder and adultery; he knew himself unfit and unable, though he were a prophet, to teach others the laws of God; but when he prayed to God to restore him to a free spirit, he adds; *Then will I teach transgressors thy ways, and sinners shall be converted unto thee:*† till then it was to no purpose for him to preach. *But thou when thou art converted*, said Christ to *Peter, strengthen the brethren.* The primitive church had a degree of severity beyond this, for they would not admit any man who had done public penance to receive holy orders. To which purpose they were excellent words which *P. Hormisda* spake in his letters to the bishops of *Spain*, in which he exhorts them to the observation of the ancient canons of the church, telling them that, "they who are promoted to "the clergy ought to be better than others; *nam longâ* "*debet vitam suam probatione monstrare, cui guber-*"*nacula committuntur ecclesia* [*non negamus, &c.* "we deny not but amongst the laity there are many "whose manners are pleasing to God, but the faithful "laws of God seek for him soldiers that are approved, "and they ought rather to afford to others by them-"selves an example of a religious life, than require it "from them:] *ideoque nullus ex pœnitentibus debet* "*ordinari, quisnam quem paulo antè jacentem viderat* "*veneretur antistitem?* None of the public penitents "must be ordained, for who will esteem that priest ve-"nerable, whom a little before he saw dishonoured by "scandalous and public crimes?" But this is to be understood of them only as the prophet *Amos* expresses it,‡ *qui corripiuntur in portâ*, who are rebuked in the gate, condemned by public sentence, and are blotted with the reproaches of the law. But in all cases,

* Psal. cvii. 42. † Psal. li. 13. ‡ Amos. v. 10.

Turpe

Turpe est doctori cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

The guilt of the sin which a man reproves, quite spoils his sermon: *ipsam obmutescere facundiam, si ægra sit conscientia*, said St. *Ambrose*, a sick conscience spoils the tongue of the eloquent, and makes it stammer. For how shall any man preach against sin, or affright his people from their dangers, if he denies God's justice? And if he thinks God is just, why is not he confounded that with his own mouth pronounces damnation against himself? Nothing confounds a man so much, as to be judged out of his own mouth: *Esse munda studeat manus quæ diluere sordes curat*, said St. *Gregory*, the hand that means to make another clean, should not of itself be dirty. But all this is but in general; there are yet considerations more particular and material.

1. A minister of an evil life cannot do so much good to his charges, he cannot profit them, he is not useful εἰς οἰκοδομὴν, he pulls down as fast, or faster than he builds up: *Thalmud absque opere, non est magnum Thalmud*, said the Jews proverb; a good sermon without a good example, is no very good sermon. For besides that such a man is contemptible to his people; contemptible, not only naturally, but by divine judgment (according to that of the prophet,* *propter quod dedi vos contemptibiles omni populo:* for this very reason I have made you to be scorned in the eyes of all the people) but besides this, it is very considerable what St. *Chrysostom* says; *si prædicas & non facis, opus proponis tanquam impossibile;* he that preaches mortification and lives voluptuously, propounds the duty as if it were impossible: for certainly if it be good, and if it be possible, a man will ask, why is it not done? It is easy for him that is well to give a sick man counsel; *verùm tu si hic esses, certè aliter sentires*, when

* Mal. ii.

it

it comes to be his own case, when the sickness pinches, and when the belly calls for meat, where is the fine oration then? *omnia quæ vindicâris in alio, tibi ipsi vehementer fugienda sunt: etenim non modo accusator, sed ne objugator ferendus est qui, quod in alio vitium reprehendit, in eo ipso deprehenditur;** whatsoever you reprove in others must be infinitely avoided by yourself; for no man will endure an *accuser*, no nor so much as a man *to chide* for that fault in which himself was taken. But if your charges see you bear your sickness patiently, and your cross nobly, and despise money generously, and forgive your enemy bravely, and relieve the poor charitably; then he sees your doctrine is tangible and material, it is more than words, and he loves you, and considers what you say. In the East the shepherds used to go before their sheep, to which our Blessed Saviour alludes, *my sheep hear my voice and follow me;* but our shepherds are forced to drive them, and affright them with dogs and noises; it were better if themselves did go before. 3. A minister of an evil life cannot preach with that fervour and efficacy, with that life and spirit as a good man does; for besides that he does not himself understand the secrets of religion, and the private inducements of the spirit, and the sweetness of internal joy, and the unexpressible advantages of a holy peace; besides this, he cannot heartily speak all that he knows; he hath a clog at his foot, and a gag in his teeth; there is a fear and there is a shame, and there is a guilt and a secret willingness that the thing were not true; and some little private arts to lessen his own consent, and to take off the asperities and consequent troubles of a clear conviction. To which if we add, that there is a secret envy in all wicked men against the prosperities of goodness; and if I should say no more, this alone were enough to silence a *Boanerges*, and to make his thun-

* Cicero, Act. 5. in Verrem.

der

der still and ea sy as a oaten pipe: *nonne id flagitium est, te aliis consilium dare, foris sapere, tibi non posse auxiliari?* That is a burning shame and an intolerable wickedness, that a minister shall be like *Marcotis*, or the statue of *Mercury*, shew the way to others, and himself stand still like a painted block; to be wise abroad, and a very fool in his own concerns, and unable to do himself good. *Dicit Reslakis, ornate ipsum, postea ornato alios;* first trim thyself, and then adorn thy brother, said the Rabbins: but certain it is, he that cannot love to see others better than himself, it cannot be that he should heartily endeavour it.

Scilicet expectes ut tradat mater honestos
Atque alios mores quam quos habet? utile porro
*Filiolam turpi vetulæ producere turpem.**

It is not to be expected that a diseased father should beget wholesome children: like will come from like, whether the principle be good or exil.

But secondly; For this is but the ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων, this is but the least evil, there is yet much worse behind. A wicked minister cannot with success and benefit pray for the people of his charges; and this is a great matter, for prayer is the key of *David;* and God values it at so high a rate, that Christ is made the prince of all intercession, and God hath appointed angels to convey to his throne of grace the prayers of the saints: and he hath made prophets and priests, even the whole clergy, the peculiar ministers of prayer; *Orabit pro eo sacerdos,*† the priest shall pray for him, the priest shall make an atonement for his sin, and it shall be forgiven him. And God's anger is no where more fiercely described, than when things come to that pass, that he will not hear the priest or prophet praying for the people: *g. pray not thou for this people, neither lift*

* Juvenal. † Numb. xv. 5; Lev. iv. 35.

up

*up prayer nor cry for them, neither make intercession to me; for behold mine anger and my fury shall be poured out upon this place :** when the prayers of the gracious and acceptable persons, the presidents of prayer are forbidden, then things are desperate; it is a greater excommunication: the man sins a sin unto death: and I say not that thou pray for him that sins unto death. This I say is the priest's office, and if the people lose the benefit of this they are undone: to bishop *Timothy*, St. *Paul* gave it in charge, *that supplications, and prayers, and intercessions be made for all men;* and St. *James* advised *the sick to send for the elders of the church* (the bishops and priests) *and let them pray over them;* and then, *their sins shall be forgiven them:* but how? that is supposed, the minister prays fervently, and be a righteous man; for *the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much;* it is promised on no other terms: *Qualis vir talis oratio*, is an old rule; as is the man, such is his prayer. *The prayer of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord*, said *Solomon:* he cannot prevail for himself, much less for others. I remember that *Bias* being once in a storm, and a company of villains in the ship being affrighted, called upon their gods for help: *Cavete* (said he) *ne vos dii interesse sentiunt*, take heed lest the gods perceive you to be here, lest we all perish for your sakes; and upon surer grounds it was that *David* said, *If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear my prayer.* And what then do you think will be the event of those assemblies, where he that presents the prayers of all the people is hateful to God? Will God receive the oblation that is presented to him by an impure hand? The Levitical priests were commanded to wash before they sacrificed;† and every man is commanded to repent before he prays; *My Son hast thou sinned, do so no more*, [and then] *ask*

* Jer. vii. 16. 29. † Exod xxx. 40.

pardon

*pardon for thy former fault;** and can we hope that the minister, who *with wrath and doubting*, and covetousness, presents the people's prayers, that ever those intercessions shall pierce the clouds and ascend to the mercy-seat, and descend with a blessing? Believe it not; a man that is ungracious in his life, can never be gracious in his office, and acceptable to God: we are abundantly taught this by those excellent words of God by the prophet *Micah; The heads of Sion judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money; yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, is not the Lord among us?*† As if God had said, nothing is so presumptuous and unreasonable as to lean upon God, and think he will be among us when the priests and the prophets are covetous and wicked: No, he declares it expressly, *v.* 7. *Then shall the seers be ashamed, and the divines confounded, yea they shall all cover their lips; for there is no answer of God:* God will not answer. For sometimes the case is so, that *though Noah, Daniel, and Job were there*, God would not hear; that is, when the people are incorrigibly wicked, and the decree is irrevocably gone out for judgment: but there are other times in which the prayers of innocent people being presented by an ungracious minister and intercessor, are very much hindered in prevailing. In such cases, God is put to extraordinaries, and Christ and Christ's angels are then the suppletories, and at the best, the people's prayers go alone, they want the assistance of the *angel of the church*, and they get no help or furtherance from him, and probably very much hindrance: according to that of St. *Gregory*, *Cum is qui displicet ad intercedendum mittitur, irati animus ad deteriora provocatur: Alexander* hated to see *Zercon*, and *g.* if he had interceded for *Clytus*, it would but have hastened his death: a man's suit

* Eccles. † Micah iii. 11.

thrives

thrives the worse for having a hated intercessor. If *g.* he that robs a church of a patin, or a chalice, be a sacrilegious person, what is he that steals from the church of God (so far as lies in him) the fruit of all their holy prayers; that corrupts the sacrifice, and puts *colliquintida* into the cups of salvation, and mingles death in the pottage provided for the children and disciples of the prophets? I can say no more, but to expostulate with them in those upbraiding words of God in the prophet; *Do they provoke me to anger saith the Lord? do they not provoke themselves to the confusion of their own faces?* Confundentur Divini, & operient vultus suos omnes;* † all such divines shall be confounded, and shall cover their faces in the day of sad accounts. *Divini sunt non Theologi*, they are *diviners* and not *divines;* witches rather than prophets: they are the sons of *Bosor*, and have no portion in the economy of God: in short, if so much holiness as I formerly described, be required of him that is appointed to preach to others, to offer spiritual sacrifices for the people, to bless the people, to divert judgment from them, to deprecate the wrath of God, to make an atonement for them, and to reconcile them to the eternal mercy; certain it is, that though the sermons of a wicked minister may do some good, not so much as they ought, but some they can: but the prayer of a wicked minister does no good at all; it provokes God to anger, it is an abomination in his righteous eyes.

Thirdly, The ecclesiastical order is by Christ appointed to minister his Holy Spirit to the people; the priests in baptism, and the holy eucharist, and prayer, and intercession; the bishop in all these, and in ordination besides, and in confirmation, and in solemn blessing: now then consider what will be the event of this without effect: can he minister the Spirit from

* Jer. vii. 19. † Mich. iii. 7.

whom

whom the Spirit of God is departed? And *g.* since all wickedness does *grieve the Spirit of God*, and great wickedness defiles his temples, and destroys them unto the ground, and extinguishes the Spirit that drives iniquity away; these persons are no longer spiritual men; *they are carnal, and sold under sin*, and walk not in the Spirit; they are spiritual just as *Simon Magus* was a Christian, or as *Judas* was an apostle; he had the name of it; but what says the Scripture? *He fell from it by transgression;* only this, as he that is baptized has for ever a title to the promises, and a possibility of repentance, and a right to restitution, until he renounces all, and never will or can repent; so there is in all our holy orders an indelible character, and they can by a new life be restored to all their powers; but in the mean time while they abide in sin and carnality, the cloud is over the face of the sun, and the Spirit of God appears not in a fiery tongue, that is not in material and active demonstrations; and how far it will be ministered by the offices of an unworthy man, we know not; only by all that is said in Scripture we are made to fear, that things will not be so well with the people, till the minister be better; only this we are sure of, that though one man may be much the worse for another man's sin, yet without his own fault no man shall perish; and God will do his work alone; and the Spirit of God, though he be ordinarily conveyed by ecclesiastical ministries, yet he also comes irregularly, and in ways of his own, and prevents the external rites, and prepossesses the hearts of his servants; and the people also have so much portion in the evangelical ministration, that if they be holy, they shall receive the Holy Ghost in their hearts, and will express him in their lives, and themselves also become kings and priests unto God, while they are zealous of good works. And to this purpose may the proverb of the Rabbins be rightly understood, *Major est qui respondit Amen, quam qui benedicit*;

benedicit; he that says *Amen* is greater than he that blesses or prays; meaning, if he heartily desires what the other perfunctorily and with his lips only utters, not praying with his heart, and with the acceptabilities of a good life, the *Amen* shall be more than all the prayer, and the people shall prevail for themselves, when the priest could not; according to the saying of *Midrasich Tehillim, Quicunque dicit* Amen *omnibus viribus suis, ei aperiuntur portæ paradisi, sicut dictum est, & ingredietur gens justa;* "He that says "*Amen* with his whole power, to him the gates of "paradise shall be open, according to that which is "said, and the righteous nation shall enter in." And this is excellently discoursed of by St. *Austin, Sacramentum gratiæ dat etiam Deus per malos, ipsam vero gratiam non nisi per seipsum, vel per sanctos suos;* and *g.* he gives remission of sins by himself, or by the members of the *Dove;* so that good men shall be supplied by God. But as this is an infinite comfort to the people, so it is an intolerable shame to all wicked ministers; the benefit which God intended to minister by them, the people shall have without their help, and whether they will or no; but because the people get nothing by their ministration, or but very little, the ministers shall never have their portion where the good people shall inhabit to eternal ages: and I beseech you to consider what an infinite confusion that will be at the day of judgment, when they to whom you have preached righteousness shall enter into everlasting glory, and you who have preached it shall have the curse of *Hanameel*, and the reward of *Bâlaam, the wages of unrighteousness.* But thus it was when the wise men asked the doctors where Christ should be born, they told them right; but the wise men went to Christ and found him, and the doctors sate still and went not.

Fourthly, Consider, that every sin which is committed by a minister of religion is more than one, and it

it is as soon espied too; for more men look upon the sun in an eclipse than when he is in his beauty: but every spot I say is greater, every mote is a beam; it is not only made so, but it is so; it hath not the excuses of the people, is not pitiable by the measures of their infirmity: and *g.* 1. It is reckoned in the accounts of malice, never of ignorance: for ignorance itself in them is always a double sin; and *g.* it is very remarkable, that when God gave command to the Levitical priests to make atonement for the sins of ignorance in the people, there is no mention made of the priest's sin of ignorance;* God supposed no such thing in them, and *Moses* did not mention it, and there was no provision made in that case, as you may see at large in *Levit* iv. and *Numb.* xv.† But 2. because every priest is a man also, observe how his sin is described, *Levit* iv. 3. *If the priest that is anointed do sin according to the sin of the people;* that is, if he be so degenerate, and descend from the glory where God hath placed him, and do sin after the manner of the people, then he is to proceed to remedy: intimating that it is infinitely besides expectation; it is a strange thing, it is like a monstrous production, it is unnatural that a priest should sin according as the people do; however, if he does, it is not connived at, with a sentence gentle as that finds which is a sin of ignorance, or the sins of the people: no, it is not; for it is always malice, it is always uncharitableness, for it brings mischief to their congregations, and contracts their blessings into little circuits, and turns their bread into a stone, and their wine to vinegar: and then besides this, 3. It is also scandalous, and then it is infinitely against charity; such ministers make the people of God to sin, and that is against the nature of their office and design of their persons: God sent them to

* Levit iv.

† Numb. xv. Vide Origen Homil. 2. Levit.

bring

bring the people from sin, and not to be like so many *Jeroboams*, the sons of *Nebat*, to set forward the devil's kingdom, to make the people to transgress the covenant of their God: for they who live more by example than by precept, will more easily follow the works of their minister than the Words of God; and few men will aspire to be more righteous than their guide; they think it well if they be as he is: and hence it is no wonder that we see iniquity so popular. *Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam;* every man runs after his lusts and after his money, because they see too many of the clergy little looking after the ways of godliness. But then consider, let all such persons consider,

5. That the accounts which an ungodly and an irreligious minister of religion shall make, must needs be intolerable; when besides the damnation which shall certainly be inflicted upon them for the sins of their own lives, they shall also reckon for all the dishonours they do to God, and to religion, and for all the sins of the people, which they did not in all just ways endeavour to hinder, and all the sins which their flocks have committed by their evil example and undisciplined lives.

6. I have but two words more to say in this affair: 1. Every minister that lives an evil life, is that person whom our Blessed Saviour means under the odious appellative of a *hireling:* for he is not the hireling that receives wages, or that lives of the altar; *sine farinâ non est lex*, said the DD. of the Jews; *without bread-corn no man can preach the law;* and St. *Paul* though he spared the Corinthians, yet he took wages of other churches, of all, but in the regions of *Achaia*; and the law of nature and the law of the gospel have taken care, that *he that serves at the altar should live of the altar*, and he is no hireling for all that; but he is a hireling that does not do his duty; he that *flies when the wolf comes*, says Christ, he that is not present with

with them in dangers, that helps them not to resist the devil, to master their temptations, to invite them on to piety, to gain souls to Christ; to him it may be said as the apostle did of the *Gnostics*, εὐσέβεια ἐστὶ πόρισμα, *Gain to them is godliness;* and theology is but *artificium venale*, a trade of life, to fill the belly and keep the body warm. *An cuiquam licere putas, quod cuivis non licet?* Is any thing lawful for thee that is not lawful for every man; and if thou dost not mind in thy own case whether it be lawful or no, then thou dost but sell sermons, and give counsel at a price, and like a fly in the temple, taste of every sacrifice, but do nothing but trouble the religious rites: for certain it is, no man takes on him this office, but he *either seeks those things which are his own*, or *those things which are Jesus Christ's;* and if he does this, *he is a minister of Jesus Christ;* if he does the other, he is *the hireling*, and intends nothing but his belly, and *God shall destroy both it and him.*

7. Lastly: *These things I have said unto you that ye sin not*; but this is not the great thing here intended; you may be innocent and yet not *zealous of good works*; but if you be not this, you are not *good ministers of Jesus Christ:* but that this is infinitely your duty, and indispensably incumbent on you all, besides the express words of my text, and all the precepts of Christ and his apostles, we have the concurrent sense of the whole church, the laws and expectations of all the world, requiring of the clergy a great and an exemplary sanctity: for *g.* it is, that upon this necessity is founded the doctrine of all divines in their discourses of the states and orders of religion; of which you may largely inform yourselves in *Gerson*'s treatise *De perfectione Religionis, in Aquinas* 22. *q.* 184. and in all his scholars upon that question: the sum of which is this, that all those institutions of religions, which St. *Anselm* calls *factitias Religiones*, that is, the schools of discipline, in which men forsaking the world,

world give themselves up wholly to a pious life, they are indeed very excellent if rightly performed; they are *status perfectionis acquirendæ*, they are excellent institutions for the acquiring perfection; but the state of the superior clergy is *status perfectionis exercendæ*, they are states which suppose perfection to be already in great measures acquired, and then to be exercised, not only in their own lives, but in the whole economy of their office: and *g.* as none are to be chosen but those who have given themselves up to the strictness of a holy life (so far as can be known;) so none do their duty, so much as tolerably, but those who by an exemplary sanctity become patterns to their flocks of all good works. *Herod*'s doves could never have invited so many strangers to their dove-cotes, if they had not been besmeared with *opobalsamum:* but ἐὰν μύρῳ χρίσῃς τὰς περιστερὰς καὶ ἔξωθεν ἄλλας ἄξουσιν, said *Didymus*, make your pigeons smell sweet and they will allure whole flocks;* and if your life be excellent, if your virtues be like a precious ointment, you will soon invite your charges to run *in odorem unguentorum*, after your precious odours: but you must be excellent, not *tanquam unus de populo*, but *tanquam homo Dei*, you must be a man of God, not after the common manner of men, but *after God's own heart*; and men will strive to be like you, if you be like to God: but when you only stand at the door of virtue, for nothing but to keep sin out, you will draw into the folds of Christ none but such as fear drives in. *Ad majorem Dei gloriam*, to do what will most glorify God, that is the line you must walk by: for to do no more than all men needs must, is servility, not so much as the affection of *sons;* much less can you be *fathers* to the people, when you go not so far as the sons of God: for a dark lanthorn, though there be a weak brightness on one side, will scarce enlighten one, much less will it

* Geoponic. l. 14.

conduct a multitude, or allure many followers by the brightness of its flame. And indeed the duty appears in this, that many things are lawful for the people which are scandalous in the clergy; you are tied to more abstinences, to more severities, to more renunciations and self-denials; you may not with that freedom receive secular contentments that others may; you must spend more time in prayers, your alms must be more bountiful, your hands more open, your hearts enlarged; others must relieve the poor, you must take care of them; others must shew themselves their brethren, but you must be their fathers; they must pray frequently and fervently, but you must give *yourselves up wholly to the Word of God and prayer;* they must *watch and pray that they fall not into temptation,* but you must watch for yourselves and others too; the people must mourn when they sin, but you must mourn for your own infirmities, and for the sins of others: and indeed, if the life of a clergyman does not exceed even the piety of the people, that life in some measure is scandalous; and what shame was ever greater than is described in the parable of the traveller going from *Jerusalem* to *Jericho*, when to the eternal dishonour of the Levite and the priest, it is told that they went aside, and saw him with a wry neck and a bended head, but let him alone and left him to be cured by the good Samaritan? The primitive church in her discipline used to thrust their dilinquent clergy *in laicam communionem*, even then when their faults were but small, and of less reproach than to deserve greater censures; yet they lessened them by thrusting them into the lay communion, as most fit for such ministers who refused to live at the height of sacerdotal piety. Remember your dignity to which Christ hath called you: *shall such a man as I flee*, said the brave *Eleazar?* shall the stars be darkness, shall the embassadors of Christ neglect to do their king honour, shall the glory of Christ do dishonourable and inglorious actions?

actions? *Ye are the glory of Christ*, saith St. *Paul;* remember that I can say no greater thing; unless possibly this may add some moments for your care and caution, that *potentes potenter cruciabuntur*, great men shall be greatly tormented if they sin; and to fall from a great height is an intolerable ruin. Severe were the words of our Blessed Saviour, *Ye are the salt of the earth; if the salt have lost his savour, it is thenceforth good for nothing, neither for land, nor yet for the dunghill:* a greater dishonour could not be expressed; he that takes such a one up will shake his fingers. I end this with the sayings of St. *Austin*, "Let your religious prudence think that in the world, "especially at this time, nothing is more laborious, "more difficult, or more dangerous than the office of "a bishop, or a priest, or a deacon: *Sed apud Deum "nihil beatius, si eo modo militetur quo noster imperator jubet:*"* but nothing is more blessed if we do our duty according to the commandment of our Lord.

I have already discoursed of the integrity of life, and what great necessity there is, and how deep obligations lie upon you, not only to be innocent and void of offence, but also to be holy; not only pure, but shining; not only to be blameless, but to be didactic in your lives; that as by your sermons you preach in season, so by your lives you may preach out of season; that is, at all seasons and to all men, *that they seeing your good works may glorify God* on your behalf, and on their own.

* Epist. cxlviii.

SERMON X.

THE

MINISTER'S DUTY,

IN

LIFE AND DOCTRINE.

SERMON II. ON TITUS ii. 7, 8.

In Doctrine shewing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, &c.

NOW by the order of the words and my own undertaking, I am to tell you what are the rules and measures of your doctrine which you are to teach the people.

1. Be sure that you teach nothing to the people, but what is certainly to be found in Scripture: *Servemus eas mensuras quas nobis per legislatorem lex spiritualis enunciat;** the whole spiritual law given us by our law-giver, that must be our measures; for though by persuasion and by faith, by mis-persuasion and by error, by self commentaries and mistaken glossaries, every man may become a law unto himself, and unhappily bind upon his conscience burdens which Christ never imposed; yet you must bind nothing

* Origen.

on

upon your charges, but what God hath bound upon you; you cannot become a law unto them; that is the only privilege of the law-giver, who, because he was an interpreter of the divine will, might become a law unto us, and because he was faithful in all the house, did tell us all his Father's will; and *g.* nothing can be God's law to us but what he hath taught us. But of this I shall need to say no more but the words of *Tertullian*; *Nobis nihil licet ex nostro arbitrio indulgere, sed nec eligere aliquid quod de suo arbitrio aliquis induxerit: apostolos Domini habemus authores, qui nec ipsi quicquam de suo arbitrio quod inducerent elegerunt, sed acceptam à Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus assignarunt.** Whatsoever is not in and taken from the Scripture, is from a private spirit, and that is against Scripture certainly; *for no Scripture is* ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως, saith St. *Peter*, it is not, it cannot be *of private interpretation;* that is, unless it come from the Spirit of God, which is that Spirit that moved upon the waters of the new creation as well as of the old, and was promised to all, *to you and to your children, and to as many as the Lord our God shall call*, and is bestowed on all, and is *the earnest* of all *our inheritance*, and is *given to every man to profit withall;* it cannot prove God to be the author, nor be a light to us to walk by, or to shew others the way to heaven.

This rule were alone sufficient to guide us all in the whole economy of our calling, if we were not weak and wilful, ignorant and abused: but the Holy Scripture hath suffered so many interpretations, and various sounds and seemings, and we are so prepossessed and predetermined to misconstruction by false apostles without, and prevailing passions within, that though it be in itself sufficient, yet it is not so for us; and we may say with the Eunuch, *How can I understand unless some man should guide me?* and indeed in St.

* Contra Hæres.

Paul's

Paul's epistles *there are many things hard to be understood;* and in many other places we find that the well is deep, and unless there be some to help us to draw out the latent senses of it, our souls will not be filled with the waters of salvation. Therefore that I may do you what assistances I can, and if I cannot in this small portion of time instruct you, yet that I may counsel you and remind you of the best assistances that are to be had; if I cannot give you rules sufficient to expound all hard places, yet that I may shew how you shall sufficiently teach your people by the rare rules and precepts recorded in places that are or may be made easy, I shall first give you some advices in general, and then descend to more particular rules and measures.

1. Because it is not to be expected that every minister of the Word of God should have all the gifts of the Spirit, and every one to abound in tongues, and in doctrines, and in interpretations; you may therefore make great use of the labours of those worthy persons whom God hath made to be lights in the several generations of the world, that a hand may help a hand, and a father may teach a brother, and we all be taught of God: for there are many who have by great skill, and great experience, taught us many good rules for the interpretation of Scripture; amongst which those that I shall principally recommend to you are the books of St. *Austin*, *De Utilitate Credendi*, and his 3. *lib. De Doctrina Christiana;* the *Synopsis* of *Athanasius*, the *Proœmes* of *Isidore*, the *Prologues* of St. *Hierom*; I might well add the *Scholia* of *Oecumenius*, the *Catenæ* of the Greek Fathers; and of the late times, the ordinary and interlineary glossaries: the excellent book of *Hugo de* St. *Victore*, *de Eruditione Didascaticâ*; *Ars interpretandi Scripturas*, by *Sixtus Senensis*: *Serarius* his *Prolegomena*; *Tena* his *Introduction* to the *Scriptures*; together with *Laurentius è Villa-Vincentio*, *Andreas Hyperius de ratione studii Philosophici*,

sophici, and the *Hypotiposes* of *Martinus Cantapratensis*: *Arias Montanus* his *Joseph*, or *de Arcano Sermone*, is of another nature, and more fit for preachers, and so is *Sanctes Paguine* his *Isagoge*; but *Ambrosius Catharinus* his book *Duarum Clavium ad Sacram Scripturam*, is useful to many good purposes: but more particularly, and I think more usefully, are those seven rules of interpreting Scriptures written by *Tichonius*, and first made famous by St. *Austin*'s commendation of them, and inserted into the 5th tome of the *Biblioth. ss. pp. Sebastian Perez* wrote 35 rules for the interpretation of Scripture: *Franciscus Ruiz* drew from the ancient Fathers 234 rules: besides those many learned persons who have writ *vocabularies*, *tropologies*, and *expositions* of words and phrases; such as are *Flacius Illyricus*, *Junius*, *Hierome Lauretus*, and many others, not infrequent in all public libraries. But I remember that he that gives frequent advice to a sick man in *Ireland* to cure his sickness, must tell him of medicaments that are *facilè parabilia*, easy to be had, and cheap to be bought, or else his counsel will not profit him; and even of these God hath made good provision for us; for although many precious things are reserved for them that dig deep and search wisely, yet there are medicinal plants, and corn and grass, things fit for food and physic to be had in every field.

And so it is in the interpretation of Scripture; there are ways of doing it well and wisely without the too laborious methods of weary learning, and even the meanest labourers in God's vineyard may have that which is fit to minister to him that needs. *g.*

2. In all the interpretations of Scripture the literal sense is to be presumed and chosen, unless there be evident causes to the contrary. The reasons are plain; because the literal sense is natural, and it is first, and it is most agreeable to some things in their whole kind; not indeed to the prophecies, nor to the teaching of the

the learned, nor those cryptic ways of institution by which the ancients did hide a light, and keep it in a dark lanthorn from the temeration of ruder handlings and popular preachers: but the literal sense is agreeable to laws, to the publication of commands, to the revelation of the divine will, to the concerns of the vulgar, to the foundations of faith, and to all the notice of things, in which the idiot is as much concerned as the greatest clerks. From which proposition these three corollaries will properly follow: 1. That God hath plainly and literally described all his will both in belief and practice, in which our essential duty, the duty of all men is concerned. 2. That in plain expressions we are to look for our duty, and not in the more secret places and darker corners of the Scripture. 3. That you may regularly, certainly, and easily do your duty to the people, if you read and literally expound the plain sayings, and easily expressed commandments, and promises and threatenings of the gospel, and the psalms and the prophets.

3. But then remember this also; that not only the grammatical or prime signification of the word is the literal sense; but whatsoever is the prime intention of the speaker, that is the literal sense; though the word be to be taken metaphorically, or by translation signify more things than one. *The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous;* this is literally true; and yet it is as true, that God hath no eyes properly: but by [eyes] are meant *God's providence;* and though this be not the first literal sense of the word [eyes] it is not that which was at first imposed, and contingently; but it is that signification which was secondarily imposed, and by reason and proportion. Thus when we say *God cares for the righteous*, it will not suppose that God can have any anxiety or afflictive thoughts; but [*he cares*] does as truly and properly signify provision, as caution; beneficence, as fear; and *g.* the literal sense of it is, that God provides good things for the righteous.

righteous. For in this case the rule of *Abulensis* is very true; *Sensus literalis semper est verus*, the literal sense is always true; that is, all that is true which the Spirit of God intended to signify by the words; whether he intended the first or second signification; whether that of voluntary and contingent, or that of analogical and rational institution. *Other sheep have I*, said Christ, *which are not of this fold:* that he did not mean this of the *pecus lanigerum* is notorious; but of the Gentiles to be gathered into the privileges and fold of *Israel:* for in many cases the first literal sense is the hardest, and sometimes impossible, and sometimes inconvenient; and when it is any of these, although we are not to recede from the literal sense; yet we are to take the second signification, the tropological or figurative. *If thy right eye offend thee pluck it out*, said Christ: and yet no man digs his eye out; because the very letter or intention of this command bids us only to throw away that, which if we keep we cannot avoid sin: for sometimes the letter tells the intention, and sometimes the intention declares the letter; and that is properly the literal sense which is the first meaning of the command in the whole complexion: and in this, common sense, and a vulgar reason will be a sufficient guide, because there is always some other thing spoken by God, or some principle naturally implanted in us, by which we are secured in the understanding of the divine command. *He that does not hate father and mother for my sake, is not worthy of me:* the sense of *hating* used in Scripture is not always *malice*, but sometimes a *less loving;* and so Christ also hath expounded it: *He that loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me.* But I shall not insist longer on this; he that understands nothing but his grammar, and hath not conversed with men and books, and can see no farther than his fingers ends, and makes no use of his reason, but for ever will be a child; he may be deceived

deceived in the literal sense of Scripture; but then he is not fit to teach others: but he that knows words signify rhetorically as well as grammatically,* and have various proper significations, and which of these is the first is not always of itself easy to be told; and remembers also that God hath given him reason and observation, and experience, and conversation with wise men, and the proportion of things, and the end of the command, and parallel places of Scripture in other words to the same purpose; will conclude, that since in plain places all the duty of man is contained, and that the literal sense is always true, and (unless men be wilful or unfortunate) they may with a small proportion of learning find out the literal sense of an easy moral proposition; will I say conclude, that if we be deceived the fault is our own; but the fault is so great, the man so supine, the negligence so inexcusable, that the very consideration of human infirmity is not sufficient to excuse such teachers of others, who hallucinate or prevaricate in this. The *Anthropomorphites* fell fouly in this matter, and supposed God to have a face and arms, and passions as we have; but they prevailed not: and *Origen* was in one instance greatly mistaken, and thinking there was no literal meaning but the prime signification of the word, understood the word εὐνεχίζειν, to make an eunuch, to his own prejudice; but that passed not into a doctrine: but the church of *Rome* hath erred greatly in pertinaciously adhering, not to the letter, but to the grammar; nor to that but in one line or signification of it: and *hoc est corpus meum* must signify nothing but gramatically; and though it be not by their own confessions to be understood without divers figures in the whole complexion, yet peevishly and perversely they will take it by the wrong handle; and this they have passed into a doctrine that is against sense and reason, and ex-

* Verba non sono sed sensu sapiunt. Hilar.

perience,

perience, and scripture and tradition, and the common interpretation of things, and public peace and utility, and every thing by which mankind ought to be governed and determined.

4. I am to add this one thing more; that we admit in the interpretation of Scripture but one literal sense; I say, but one *prime literal sense;* for the simplicity of the Spirit, and the philanthropy of God will not admit that there should in one single proposition be many intricate meanings, or that his sense should not certainly be understood, or that the people be abused by equivocal and doubtful senses; this was the way of *Jupiter* in the sands, and *Apollo Pythius*, and the devil's oracles: but be it far from the wisdom of the Spirit of God.

5. But then take in this caution to it; that although there be but one principal literal sense, yet others that are subordinate may be intended subordinately; and others that are true by proportion, or that first intention, may be true for many reasons, and every reason applicable to a special instance; and all these may be intended as they signify, that is, one only by prime design, and the other by collateral consequence. Thus when it is said, *Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee;* the psalmist means it of the eternal generation of Christ: others seem to apply it to his birth, of the blessed Virgin *Mary*: and St. *Paul* expounds it, *Heb.* i. of the resurrection of *Christ*: this is all true; and yet but one literal sense primely meant; but by proportion to the first the others have their place, and are meant by way of similitude. Thus we are the Sons of God by adoption, by creation, by favour, by participation of the Spirit, by the *laver of regeneration*; and every man for one or other of these reasons can say, *Our Father which art in heaven*; and these are all parts of the literal sense, not different, but subordinate and by participation: but more than one prime literal sense must not be admitted.

6. Lastly; Sometimes the literal sense is lost by a plain

plain change of the words; which when it is discovered, it must be corrected by the fountain; and till it be, so long as it is pious, and commonly received, it may be used without scruple. In the 41st Psalm the *Hebrews* read, *My soul hath longed after the strong, the living God; Deum fortem, vivum:* In the vulgar Latin, it is *Deum fontem vivum*, the living fountain; and it was very well, but not the literal sense of God's spirit: but when they have been so often warned of it, that they were still in love with their own letter and leave the words of the Spirit, I think was not justifiable at all: and this was observed at last by *Sixtus* and *Clement*, and corrected in their editions of the Bible, and then it came right again. The sum is this; he that with this moderation and these measures construes the plain meaning of the Spirit of God, and expounds the articles of faith, and the precepts of life according to the intention of God signified by his own words, in their first or second signification, cannot easily be cozened into any heretical doctrine; but his doctrine will be ἀδιάφθορος, the pure word and mind of God.

2. There is another sense or interpretation of scripture, and that is mystical or spiritual; which the Jews call מדרש *Midrash;* which *Elias* the Levite calls *omne commentarium quod non est juxta simplicem & literalem sensum*, every gloss that is not according to their פשט *Peschat*, to the literal sense; and this relates principally to the Old Testament. Thus the waters of the deluge did signify the waters of baptism; *Sarah* and *Agar*, the law and the gospel; the brazen serpent, the passion of Christ; the conjunction of *Adam* and *Eve*, the communion of Christ and his church; and this is called *the spiritual sense*, St. *Paul* being our warrant; *Our fathers eat of the same spiritual meat, and drank of that same spiritual rock;* now that rock was not spiritual, but of solid stone; but it signified spiritually; for *that rock was Christ.* This sense the doctors divide into tropological, allegorical, and analogical;

analogical; for method's sake, and either to distinguish the things, or to amuse the persons; for these relate but to the several spiritual things signified by divers places; as *matters of faith, precepts of manners*, and *celestial joys:* you may make more if you please, and yet these are too many to trouble mens heads, and to make theology an art and craft to no purpose. This spiritual sense is that which the *Greeks* call ὑπόνοιαν, or the sense that lies under the cover of words: concerning this I shall give you these short rules, that your doctrine be ἀδιάφθορον, pure and without heretical mixtures, and the leaven of false doctrines; for above all things this is to taken care of.

1. Although every place of Scripture hath a literal sense, either proper or figurative, yet every one hath not a spiritual and mystical interpretation; and *g. Origen* was blamed by the ancients for forming all into spirit and mystery; one place was reserved to punish that folly. Thus the followers of the family of love and the Quakers expound all the articles of our faith, all the hopes of a Christian, all the stories of Christ into such a clancular and retired sense, as if they had no meaning by the letter, but were only an hieroglyphic or a Pythagorean scheme; and not to be opened but by a private key, which every man pretends to be borrowed from the Spirit of God, though made in the forges here below: to which purposes the epistles of St. *Hierom* to *Avitus*, to *Pammachius* and *Oceanus* are worth your reading. In this case men do as he said of *Origen, Ingenii sui acumina putant esse ecclesiæ sacramenta;* every man believes God meant as he intended, and so he will obtrude his own dreams instead of sacraments. *g.*

2. Whoever will draw spiritual senses from any history of the Old or New Testament, must first allow the literal sense, or else he will soon deny an article of necessary belief. A story is never the less true, because it is intended to profit as well as to please; and the narrative

narrative may well establish or insinuate a precept and instruct with pleasure ; but if because there is a jewel in the golden cabinet, you will throw away the inclosure, and deny the story that you may look out a mystical sense, we shall leave it arbitrary for any man to believe or disbelieve what story he please ; and *Eve* shall not be made of the rib of *Adam*, and the garden of *Eden* shall be no more than the *Hesperides*, and the story of *Jonas* a well dressed fable : and I have seen all the Revelation of St. *John* turned into a moral commentary in which every person can signify any proposition, or any virtue, according as his fancy chimes. This is too much, and therefore comes not from a good principle.

3. In moral precepts, in rules of polity and economy there is no other sense to be inquired after but what they bear upon the face ; for he that thinks it necessary to turn them into some further spiritual meaning, supposes that it is a disparagement to the Spirit of God to take care of governments, or that the duties of princes and masters are no great concerns, or not operative to eternal felicity, or that God does not provide for temporal advantages ; for if these things be worthy concerns, and if God hath taken care of all our good, and if *godliness be profitable to all things and hath the promise of the life that now is and that which is to come*, there is no necessity to pass on to more abstruse senses, when the literal and proper hath also in it instrumentality enough towards very great spiritual purposes. *God takes care* for servants, yea *for oxen*, and all the beasts of the field ; and the letter of the command enjoining us to use them with mercy, hath in it an advantage even upon the spirit and whole frame of a man's soul : and *g.* let no man tear those scriptures to other meanings beyond their own intentions and provisions. In these cases, a spiritual sense is not to be inquired after.

4. If the letter of the story infers any undecency or contradiction,

contradiction, then it is necessary that a spiritual or mystical sense be thought of, but never else is it necessary. It may in other cases be useful, when it does advantage to holiness; and may be safely used modestly; but because this spiritual or mystical interpretation when it is not necessary cannot be certainly proved, but relies upon fancy, or at most, some light inducement; no such interpretation can be used as an argument to prove an article of faith, nor relied upon in matters of necessary concern. The *three measures of meal* in the gospel, are but an ill argument to prove the blessed and eternal Trinity; and it may be the three angels that came to *Abraham* will signify no more than the two that came to *Lot*, or the single one to *Manoah*, or St. *John:* this divine mystery relies upon a more sure foundation; and he makes it unsure that causes it to lean upon an unexpounded vision that was sent to other purposes. *Non esse contentiosis & infidelibus sensibus ingerendum*, said St. *Austin* of the book of *Genesis:* Searching for articles of faith in the by-paths and corners of secret places, leads not to faith but to infidelity, and by making the foundations unsure, causes the articles to be questioned.

I remember that *Agricola* in his book *de Animalibus Subterraneis* tells of a certain kind of spirits that use to converse in mines and trouble the poor labourers: they dig metals, they cleanse, they cast, they melt, they separate, they join the ore; but when they are gone, the men find just nothing done, not one step of their work set forward. So it is in the books and expositions of many men; they study, they argue, they expound, they confute, they reprove, they open secrets, and make new discoveries; and when you turn the bottom upwards up starts nothing; no man is the wiser, no man is instructed, no truth discovered, no proposition cleared, nothing is altered, but that much labour and much time is lost; and this is manifest in nothing more than in books of controversy, and in mystical

mystical expositions of Scripture: *Quærunt quod nusquam est, inveniunt tamen:* like *Isidore who in contemplation of a pen observed that the nib of it was divided into two, but yet the whole body remained one: *Credo propter mysterium;* he found a knack in it, and thought it was a mystery. Concerning which I shall need to say no more but that they are safe when they are necessary, and they are useful when they teach better; and they are good when they do good: but this is so seldom and so by chance, that oftentimes if a man be taught truth, he is taught it by a lying master; it is like being cured by a witch, an evil spirit hath an hand in it; and if there be not error and illusion in such interpretations, there is very seldom any certainty.

What shall I do to my vineyard said God: Isai. 5. *Auferam sepem ejus*. I will take away the hedge, that is, *custodiam angelorum* saith the glossary, the custody of their angel guardians: and *Isai.* 9. God says, *Manasseh humeros suos comedit Manasseh* hath devoured his own shoulders; that is, *gubernatores dimovit*, say the doctors, hath removed his governors, his princes and his priests; it is a sad complaint it is true; but what it means is the question: but although these senses are pious and may be used for illustration and the prettiness of discourse; yet there is no further certainty in them than what the one fancies and the other is pleased to allow. But if the spiritual sense be proved, evident and certain then it is of the same efficacy as the literal; for it is according to that letter by which God's Holy Spirit was pleased to signify his meaning; and it matters not how he is pleased to speak, so we understand his meaning: and in this sense that is true which is affirmed by St. *Gregory; Allegoriam interdum ædificare fidem:* sometimes our faith is built up by the mystical words of the Spirit of

* Isid. Orig. l. vi. c. 14.

God.

God. But because it seldom happens that they can be proved, *g.* you are not to feed your flocks with such herbs whose virtue you know not, of whose wholesomness or powers of nourishing you are wholly or for the most part ignorant: we have seen and felt the mischief, and sometimes derided the absurdity: *God created the sun and the moon,* said *Moses;* that is, said the extravagants of Pope *Boniface* the 8th, the Pope and the Emperor: And *Behold here are two swords* said St. *Peter: It is enough* said Christ; enough for St. *Peter:* and so he got the two swords, the temporal and spiritual, said the glossary upon that text. Of these things there is no beginning, and no end; no certain principles, and no good conclusion.

These are the two ways of expounding all Scriptures: these are as *the two witnesses of God,* by the first of which he does most commonly, and by the latter of which he does sometimes declare his meaning; and in the discovery of these meanings, the measures which I have now given you are the general landmarks, and are sufficient to guide us from destructive errors. It follows in the next place, that I give you some rules that are more particular according to my undertaking, that you in your duty, and your charges in the provisions to be made for them may be more secure.

1. Although you are to teach your people nothing but what is the Word of God; yet by this word I understand all that God spake expressly, and all that by certain consequence can be deduced from it. Thus *Dionysius Alexandrinus* argues, ἔγνων ὅτι υἱὸς καὶ λόγος ἐ ξένος ἂν εἴη τῆς ἐσίας τὲ πατρὸς; he that in Scripture is called the Son and the Word of the Father, I conclude he is no stranger to the essence of the Father: and St. *Ambrose* derided them that called for express Scripture for ὁμοέσιος, since the prophets and the gospels acknowledge the unity of substance in the Father and the Son; and we easily conclude the Holy

Holy Ghost to be God, because we call upon him; and we call upon him, because we believe in him; and we believe in him, because we are baptized into the faith and profession of the Holy Ghost. This way of teaching our Blessed Saviour used when he confuted the Sadducees in the question of the resurrection;* and thus he confuted the Pharisees in the question of his being the Son of God. The use I make of it is this, that right reason is so far from being an exile from the enquiries of religion, that it is the great ensurance of many propositions of faith; and we have seen the faith of men strangely alter, but the reason of man can never alter; every rational truth supposing its principles, being eternal and unchangeable. All that is to be done here, is to see that you argue well, that your deduction be evident, that your reason be right: for Scripture is to our understandings as the grace of God to our wills; that instructs our reason, and this helps our wills; and we may as well choose the things of God without our wills, and delight in them without love, as understand the Scriptures or make use of them without reason.

Quest. But how shall our reason be guided, that it may be right, that it be not a blind guide, but direct us to the place where the star appears, and point us to the very house where the babe lieth; that we may indeed do as the wise men did? To this I answer.

2. In the making deductions the first great measure to direct our reason and our inquiries is the analogy of faith: that is, let the fundamentals of faith be your *cynosura*, your great light to walk by; and whatever you derive from thence let it be agreeable to the principles from whence they come. It is the rule of St. *Paul*, Προφητεύων κατ' ἀναλογίαν πίστεως, *Let him that prophesies do it according to the proportion of faith*:† that is, let him teach nothing but what is revealed, or

* John. x. 37. † Rom. xii. 7.

agreeable

agreeable to the αὐτόπιστα, the prime credibilities of Christianity; that is by the plain words of Scripture let him expound the less plain, and the superstructure by the measures of the foundation, and doctrines be answerable to faith, and speculations relating to practice, and nothing taught as simply necessary to be believed, but what is evidently and plainly set down in the holy Scriptures: for he that calls a proposition necessary, which the apostles did not declare to be so, or which they did not teach to all Christians learned and unlearned, he is gone beyond his proportions. For every thing is to be kept in that order where God hath placed it: there is a classis of necessary articles, and that is the Apostle's Creed, which *Tertullian* calls *regulam fidei*, the rule of faith; and according to this we must teach necessities; but what comes after this, is not so necessary; and he that puts upon his own doctrine a weight equal to this of the apostles declaration, either must have an apostolical authority, and an apostolical infallibility, or else he transgresses the proportion of faith, and becomes a false apostle.

3. To this purpose it is necessary that you be very diligent in reading, laborious and assiduous in the studies of Scripture: not only lest ye be blind seers, and blind guides; but because without great skill and learning ye cannot do your duty. A minister may as well sin by his ignorance as by his negligence; because when light springs from so many angles, that may enlighten us, unless we look round about us and be skilled in all the angles of reflection, we shall but turn our backs upon the sun, and see nothing but our own shadows. *Search the Scriptures*, said Christ; *Non dixit legite, sed scrutamini*, said St. *Chrysostome; quia oportet profundius effodere, ut quæ altè delitescunt invenire possimus.* Christ did not say read, but search the Scriptures; turn over every page, inquire narrowly, look diligently, converse with them perpe-

tually, be mighty in the Scriptures; for that which is plain there, is the best measure of our faith and of our doctrines. The Jews have a saying; *Qui non advertit quod supra & infra in Scriptoribus legitur, is pervertit verba Dei viventis:* He that will understand God's meaning, must look above and below, and round about; for the meaning of the Spirit of God is not like the wind blowing from one point, but like light issuing from the body of the sun; it is light round about; and in every word of God there is a treasure, and something will be found somewhere to answer every doubt, and to clear every obscurity, and to teach every truth by which God intends to perfect our understandings. But then take this rule with you; do not pass from plainness to obscurity, nor for simple principles draw crafty conclusions, nor from easiness pass into difficulty, nor from wise notices draw intricate nothings, nor from the wisdom of God lead your hearers into the follies of men; your principles are easy, and your way plain, and the words of faith are open, and what naturally flows from thence will be as open; but if without violence and distortion it cannot be drawn forth, the proposition is not of the family of faith. *Qui nimis emungit, elicit sanguinem;* he that wrings too hard, draws blood; and nothing is fit to be offered to your charges and your flocks but what flows naturally and comes easily, and descends readily and willingly from the fountains of salvation.

4. Next to this analogy or proportion of faith, let the consent of the Catholic Church be your measure, so as by no means to prevaricate in any doctrine in which all Christians always have consented. This will appear to be a necessary rule by and by; but in the mean time I shall observe to you, that it will be the safer because it cannot go far; it can be instanced but in three things, in the creed, in ecclesiastical government, and in external forms of worship and liturgy. The Catholic Church hath been too much and too

soon

soon divided: it hath been used as the man upon a hill used his heap of heads in a basket; when he threw them down the hill every head run his own way, *quot capita tot sententiæ*; and as soon as the spirit of truth was opposed by the spirit of error, the spirit of peace was disordered by the spirit of division, and the Spirit of God hath overpowered us so far, that we are only fallen out about that, of which if we had been ignorant we had not been much the worse; but in things simply necessary, God hath preserved us still unbroken; all nations, and all ages recite the creed, and all pray the Lord's Prayer, and all pretend to walk by the rule of the commandments; and all churches have ever kept the day of Christ's resurrection, or the Lord's Day holy; and all churches have been governed by bishops, and the rites of Christianity have been for ever administered by separate orders of men, and those men have been always set apart by prayer and imposition of the bishop's hands; and all Christians have been baptized, and all baptized persons were or ought to be, and were taught that they should be confirmed by the bishop and presidents of religion; and for ever there were public forms of prayer, more or less in all churches; and all Christians that were to enter into holy wedlock, were ever joined or blessed by the bishop or the priest: in these things all Christians ever have consented, and he that shall prophecy or expound Scripture to the prejudice of any of these things, hath no part in the article of his creed; he does not believe the Holy Catholic Church, he hath no fellowship, no communion with the saints and servants of God.

It is not here intended that the doctrine of the church should be the rule of faith distinctly from, much less against the Scripture; for that were a contradiction to suppose the church of God, and yet speaking and acting against the will of God; but it means that where the question is concerning an obscure place of Scripture,

Scripture, the practice of the Catholic Church is the best commentary. *Intellectus qui cum pravi concurrit, est spiritus vivificans*, said *Cusanus*. Then we speak according to the Spirit of God, when we understand Scripture in that sense in which the church of God hath always practised it. *Quod pluribus, quod sapientibus, quod omnibus videtur*, that is *Aristotle*'s rule; and it is a rule of nature; every thing puts on a degree of probability as it is witnessed by wise men, by many wise men, by all wise men: and it is *Vincentius Lirinensis*' great rule of truth; *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus;* and he that goes against what is said always, and every where, and by all Christians, had need have a new revelation or an infallible spirit, or he hath an intolerable pride and foolishness of presumption. Out of the communion of the universal church no man can be saved; they are the body of Christ; and the whole church cannot perish, and Christ cannot be a head without a body, and he will for ever be our Redeemer, and for ever intercede for his church, and be glorious in his saints; and *g.* he that does not sow in their furrows, but leaves the way of the whole church, hath no pretence for his error, no excuse for his pride, and will find no alleviation of his punishment. These are the best measures which God hath given us to lead us in the way of truth, and to preserve us from false doctrines; and whatsoever cannot be proved by these measures, cannot be necessary. There are many truths besides these; but if your people may be safely ignorant of them, you may quietly let them alone, and not trouble their heads with what they have so little to do: things that need not to be known at all, need not to be taught; for if they be taught, they are not certain, or are not very useful; and *g.* there may be danger in them besides the trouble; and since God hath not made them necessary, they may be let alone without danger; and it will be madness to tell stories to your flocks of things which may hinder salvation, but

but cannot do them profit. And now it is time that I have done with the first great remark of doctrine noted by the apostle in my text; all the guides of souls must take care that the doctrine they teach be ἀδιάφθορ©, *pure* and *incorrupt*, the Word of God, the truth of the Spirit. That which remains is easier.

2. In the next place it must be σεμνὸς, grave, and reverend, no vain notions, no pitiful contentions, and disputes about little things, but becoming your great employment in the ministry of souls: and in this the rules are easy and ready.

1. Do not trouble your people with controversies: whatsoever does gender strife the apostle commands us to avoid; and *g.* much more the strife itself: a controversy is a stone in the mouth of the hearer, who should be fed with bread, and it is a temptation to the preacher, it is a state of temptation; it engages, one side in lying, and both in uncertainty and uncharitableness; and after all it is not food for souls; it is the food of contention, it is a spiritual lawsuit, and it can never be ended; every man is right, and every man is wrong in these things, and no man can tell who is right or who is wrong. For as long as a word can be spoken against a word, and a thing be opposite to a thing; as long as places are hard, and men are ignorant or *knowing but in part;* as long as there is money and pride in the world, and for ever till men willingly confess themselves to be fools and deceived, so long will the saw of contention be drawn from side to side. *That which is not cannot be numbered*, saith the wise man: no man can reckon upon any truth that is got by contentious learning; and whoever troubles his people with questions, and teaches them to be troublesome, note that man, he loves not peace, or he would fain be called *Rabbi, Rabbi.* Christian religion loves not tricks nor artifices of wonder, but like the natural and amiable simplicity of Jesus, by plain and easy propositions leads us in wise paths

paths to a place where sin and strife shall never enter. What good can come from that which fools begin, and wise men can never end but by silence, and that had been the best way at first, and would have stifled them in the cradle? What have your people to do whether Christ's body be in a sacrament by *consubstantiation*, or *transubstantiation*; whether purgatory be in the centre of the earth or in the air, or any where or no where? and who but a mad man would trouble their heads with the entangled links of the fantastic chain of predestination? Teach them to fear God and honour the king, to keep the commandments of God, and the king's command, because of the oath of God; learn them to be sober and temperate, to be just and to pay their debts, to speak well of their neighbours and to think meanly of themselves; teach them charity, and learn them to be zealous of good works. Is it not a shame that the people should be filled with sermons against ceremonies, and declamations against a surplice, and tedious harangues against the poor aëry sign of the cross in baptism? These things teach them to be ignorant; it fills them with wind, and they suck dry nurses; it makes them lazy and useless, troublesome and good for nothing. Can the definition of a Christian be, that a Christian is a man that rails against bishops and the common prayer book? and yet this is the great labour of our neighbours that are crept in among us; this they call the work of the Lord; and this is the great matter of the desired reformation; in these things they spend their long breath, and about these things they spend earnest prayers, and by these they judge their brother, and for these they revile their superior, and in this doughty cause they think it fit to fight and die. If St. *Paul* or St. *Anthony*, St. *Basil*, or St. *Ambrose*; if any of the primitive confessors or glorious martyrs should awake from within their curtains of darkness, and find men thus striving against government for the interest of disobedience,

disobedience, and labouring for nothings, and preaching all day for shadows and moonshine; and that not a word shall come from them to teach the people humility, not a word of obedience or self-denial; they are never taught to suspect their own judgment, but always to prefer the minister before the public, the presbyter before a bishop, fancy before law, the subject before his prince, a prayer in which men consider not at all, before that which is weighed wisely and considered; and in short a private spirit before the public, and *Mas John* before the patriarch of *Jerusalem:* if, I say, St. *Paul* or St. *Anthony* should see such a light, they would not know the meaning of it, nor of what religion the country were, nor from whence they had derived their new nothing of an institution. *The kingdom of God consists in wisdom and righteousness, in peace and holiness, in meekness and gentleness, in chastity and purity, in abstinence from evil, and doing good to others;* in these things place your labours, preach these things, and nothing else but such as these; things which promote the public peace and public good; things that can give no offence to the wise and to the virtuous: for these things are profitable to men, and pleasing to God.

2. Let not your sermons and discourses to your people be busy arguings about hard places of Scripture; if you strike a hard against a hard, you may chance to strike fire, or break a man's head; but it never makes a good building; *Philosophiam ad syllabas vocare*, that is to no purpose; your sermons must be for edification, something to make the people better and wiser, *wiser unto salvation*, not wiser to discourse; for if a hard thing get into their heads, I know not what work you will make of it, but they will make nothing of it, or something that is very strange: dress your people unto the imagery of Christ, dress them for their funerals, help them to make their accounts up

up against the day of judgment. I have known some persons and some families that would religiously educate their children, and bring them up in the Scriptures from their cradle;* and they would teach them to tell who was the first man, and who was the oldest, and who was the wisest, and who was the strongest; but I never observed them to ask who was the best, and what things were required to make a man good: the apostles creed was not the entertainment of their pretty talkings, nor the life of Christ, the story of his bitter passion; and his incomparable sermon on the mount went not into their catechisms. What good can your flocks receive if you discourse well and wisely, whether *Jephthah* sacrificed his daughter or put her into the retirements of a solitary life; nor how *David*'s numbering the people did differ from *Joshua*'s; or whether God took away the life of *Moses* by the apoplexy or by the kisses of his mouth? If scholars be idly busy in these things in the schools, custom and some other little accidents may help to excuse them: but the time that is spent in your churches and conversation with your people must not be so thrown away: λόγ@ ἔσω σεμνὸς, that is your rule; *let your speech be grave* and wise, and useful and holy, and intelligible; something to reform their manners, to correct their evil natures, to amend their foolish customs; *to build them up in a most holy faith.* That is the second rule and measure of your preachings that the apostle gives you in my text.

3. Your speech must be ὑγιὴς salutary and wholesome: and indeed this is of greatest concern, next to the first, next to the truth and purity of that doctrine; for unless the doctrine be made fit for the necessities of your people, and not only be good in itself, but good for them, you lose the end of your labours, and they the end of your

* σημάτων ἀτέχνων πόλαμὸς.

preachings;

preachings; *your preaching is vain, and their faith is also vain.* The particulars of this are not many, but very useful.

1. It is never out of season to preach good works, but when you do, be careful that you never indirectly disgrace them by telling how your adversaries spoil them. I do not speak this in vain; for too many of us account good works to be popery, and so not only dishonour our religion, and open wide the mouths of adversaries, but disparage Christianity itself, while we hear it preached in every pulpit, that they who preach good works think they merit heaven by it; and so for fear of merit, men let the work alone; to secure a true opinion they neglect a good practice, and out of hatred of popery, we lay aside Christianity itself. Teach them how to do good works, and yet to walk humbly with God; for better it is to do well even upon a weak account, than to do nothing upon the stock of a better proposition: and let it never be used any more as a word of reproach unto us all, that the faith of a *protestant*, and the works of a *papist*, and the words of a *fanatic* make up a good Christian. Believe well, and speak well, and do well; but in doing good works a man cannot deceive any one but himself by the appendage of a foolish opinion; but in our believing only and in talking, a man may deceive himself, and all the world; and God only can be safe from the cozenage. Like to this is the case of external forms of worship, which too many refuse, because they pretend that many who use them, rest in them and pass no further: for besides that no sect of men teaches their people so to do, you cannot without uncharitableness suppose it true of very many. But if others do ill, do not you do so too; and leave not out the external forms for fear of formality, but join the inward power of godliness, and then they are reproved best, and instructed wisely, and you are secured. But remember that profaneness is commonly something that is

is external; and he is a profane person who neglects the exterior part of religion: and this is so vile a crime, that hypocrisy while it is undiscovered is not so much mischievous as open profaneness, or a neglect and contempt of external religion. Do not despise external religion, because it may be sincere, and do not rely upon it wholly, because it may be counterfeit; but do you preach both, and practice both; both what may glorify God in public, and what may please him in private.

2. In deciding the questions and causes of conscience of your flocks, never strive to speak what is pleasing, but what is profitable ἐ λόγες, ἀλλὰ πραγμάτων φθέγγεσθαι ἐσίας, as was said of *Isidore* the philosopher; you must not give your people words, but things, and substantial food. Let not the people be prejudiced in the matter of their souls upon any terms whatsoever, and be not ashamed to speak boldly in the cause of God; for he that is angry when he is reproved, is not to be considered, excepting only to be reproved again; if he will never mend, not you, but he will have the worst of it; but if he ever mends, he will thank you for your love, and for your wisdom, and for your care; and no man is finally disgraced for speaking of a truth: only here, pray for the grace of prudence, that you may speak opportunely and wisely, lest you profit not, but destroy an uncapable subject.

Lastly; The apostle requires of every minister of the gospel that his speech and doctrine should be ἀκαλάγνωσος, *unreproveable:* not such against which no man can cavil; for the pharisees found fault with the wise discourses of the eternal Son of God; and heretics and schismatics prated against the holy apostles and their excellent sermons; but ἀκατάγνως is such as deserves no blame, and needs no pardon, and flatters not for praise, and begs no excuses, and makes no apologies; a discourse that will be justified by all the sons of wisdom: now that yours may be so, the preceding

ceding rules are the best means that are imaginable. For so long as you speak the pure truths of God, the plain meaning of the Spirit, the necessary things of faith, the useful things of charity, and the excellencies of holiness, who can reprove your doctrine? But there is something more in this word which the apostle means, else it had been an useless repetition; and a man may speak the truths of God, and yet may be blame-worthy by an importune, unseasonable and imprudent way of delivering them, or for want of such conduct which will place him and his doctrine in reputation and advantages. To this purpose these advices may be useful.

1. Be more careful to establish a truth than to reprove an error. For besides that a truth will when it is established of itself reprove the error sufficiently; men will be less apt to reprove your truth, when they are not engaged to defend their own propositions against you. Men stand upon their guard, when you proclaim war against their doctrine. Teach your doctrine purely and wisely, and without any angry reflexions; for you shall very hardly persuade him whom you go about publicly to confute.

2. If any man have a revelation or a discovery of which thou knowest nothing but by his preaching, be not too quick too condemn it; not only lest thou discourage his labour and stricter inquiries in the search of truth, but lest thou also be a fool upon record; for so is every man that hastily judges what he slowly understands. Is it not a monument of a lasting reproach, that one of the popes of *Rome* condemned the bishop of *Sulzbach* for saying that there were *Antipodes?* and is not pope *Nicholas* deserted by his own party for correcting the sermons of *Berengarius*, and making him recant into a worse error? and posterity will certainly make themselves very merry with the wise sentences made lately at *Rome* against *Galileo*, and the *Jansemists*. To condemn one truth is more shameful than

than to broach two errors: for he that in an honest and diligent inquiry misses something of the mark, will have the apologies of human infirmity, and the praise of doing his best; but he that condemns a truth when it is told him, is an envious fool, and is a murderer of his brother's fame, and his brother's reason.

3. Let no man upon his own head reprove the religion that is established by law and a just supreme authority: for no reproofs are so severe as the reproofs of law; and a man will very hardly defend his opinion that is already condemned by the wisdom of all his judges. A man's doctrine possibly may be true though against law; but it cannot be ἀκαλάγνως, unreproveable; and a schismatic can in no case observe this rule of the apostle. If something may be amiss when it is declared by laws, much easier may he be in an error, who goes upon his own account, and declares alone: and *g.* it is better to let things alone than to be troublesome to our superiors by an impertinent wrangling for reformation. We find that some kings of *Judah* were greatly praised, and yet they did not destroy all the temples of the false gods which *Solomon* had built; and if such public persons might let some things alone that were amiss, and yet be innocent, trouble not yourself that all the world is not amended according to your pattern; see that you be perfect at home, that all be rightly reformed there; as for reformation of the church, God will never call you to an account. Some things cannot be reformed, and very many need not, for all thy peevish dreams; and after all it is twenty to one but thou art mistaken, and thy superior is in the right; and if thou wert not proud, thou wouldest think so too. Certain it is he that sows in the furrows of authority, his doctrine cannot so easily be reproved as he that plows and sows alone. When *Theophilus*, bishop of *Alexandria* fell into the hands of the *Egyptian* monks, who were ignorant and confident, they handled him with great rudeness

ness, because he had spoken of the immateriality of the Divine Nature; the good man to escape their fury was forced to give them crafty and soft words, saying; *Vidi faciem vestram ut faciem Dei:* which because they understood in the sense of the *Anthropomorphites*, and thought he did so too, they let him depart in peace. When private persons are rude against the doctrines of authority, they are seldom in the right; but *g.* are the more fierce, as wanting the natural supports of truth, which are reason and authority, gentleness and plain conviction; and *g.* they fall to declamation and railing, zeal and cruelty, trifling and arrogant confidences. They seldom go asunder: it is the same word in Greek that signifies disobedience and cruelty: ἀπήνης is both; he that will endure no bridle, that man hath no mercy. Ἀυθάδεια ἀπήνεια ὁμιλίας ἐν λόγοις. Confidence is that which will endure no bridle, no curb, no superior. It is worse in the Hebrew; *the sons of Belial*, signify people that will endure no yoke, no government, no imposition; and we have found them so, they are sons of *Belial* indeed. This is that αὐθάδεια, that kind of boldness and refractory confidence that St. *Paul* forbids to be in a minister of religion, 1 *Tit.* 7. μὴ αὐθάδη, not confident; that is, let him be humble and modest, distrusting his own judgment, believing wiser men than himself; never bold against authority, never relying on his own wit. Ἀυθάδης ἐστὶν αυτοάδης, said *Aristotle;* that man is bold and presumptuous, who pleases himself, and sings his own songs, all voluntary, nothing by his book.

Οὐδ' ἀστὸν ἥνεσ' ὅστις αὐθάδης γεγὼς
Πικρὸς πολίταις ἐστὶν ἀμαθίας ὑπό,*

Said the tragedy. Every confident man is ignorant, and by his ignorance troublesome to his country, but will never do it honour.

* Eurip.

4. Whatever

4. Whatever Scriptures you pretend for your doctrine, take heed that it be not chargeable with foul consequences; that it lay no burden upon God, that it do not tempt to vanity, that it be not manifestly serving a temporal end, and nothing else; that it be not vehemently to be suspected to be a design of state, like the sermon at St. *Paul*'s-Cross by Dr. *Shaw* in *Richard* the Third's time; that it do not give countenance and confidence to a wicked life; for then your doctrine is reproveable for the appendage, and the intrinsic truth of falsehood will not so much be inquired after as the visible and external objection; if men can reprove it in the outside they will inquire no further. But above all things nothing so much will reproach your doctrine, as if you preach it in a railing dialect; we have had too much of that within these last thirty years. *Optatus* observes it was the trick of the donatists, *Nullus vestrum est qui non convitia nostra suis tractatibus misceat:* * There is none of you but with his own writings mingles our reproaches; you begin to read chapters, and you expound them to our injuries; you comment upon the gospel, and revile your brethren that are absent; you imprint hatred and enmity in your peoples hearts, and you teach them war when you pretend to make them saints. They that do so, their doctrine is not ακαθάγνως; that is the least which can be said. If you will not have your doctrine reprehensible, *do nothing with offence*, and above all offences avoid the doing or saying those things that give offence to the king and to the laws, to the voice of Christendom and the public customs of the church of God. Frame your life and preachings to the canons of the church, to the doctrines of antiquity, to the sense of the ancient and holy fathers. For it is otherwise in theology than it is in other learnings. The experiments of philosophy are rude at first, and the

* Lib. adv. Parmen.

observations

observations weak, and the principles unproved; and he that made the first lock was not so good a workman as we have now-a-days: but in Christian religion they that were first were best, because God and not man was the teacher; and ever since that, we have been unlearning the wise notices of pure religion, and mingling them with human notices and human interest. *Quod primum, hoc verum:* and although concerning antiquity I may say as he in the tragedy;

Συσσωφρὸνειν σοὶ βέλομ', ἀλλ' ἓ συννοσειν.

I would have you be wise with them and under them, and follow their faith, but not their errors; yet this can never be of use to us, till antiquity be convicted of an error by an authority great as her own, or a reason greater, and declared by an authorized master of sentences. But however, be very tender in reproving a doctrine for which good men and holy have suffered martyrdom, and of which they have made public confession; for nothing reproves a doctrine so much as to venture it abroad with so much scandal and objection: and what reason can any schismatic have against the Common Prayer Book, able to weigh against that argument of blood which for the testimony of it was shed by the Queen *Mary* Martyrs? I instance the advice in this particular, but it is true in all things else of the like nature. It was no ill advice whoever gave it to the favourite of a prince; *Never make yourself a professed enemy to the church; for their interest is so complicated with the public, and their calling is so dear to God, that one way or other, one time or other, God and man will be their defender.* The same I say concerning authority and antiquity; never do any thing, never say or profess any thing against is: for besides that if you follow their measures you will be secured in your *faith* and in your main duty; even in smaller things they will be sure to carry the

cause against you, and no man is able to bear the reproach of singularity. It was in honour spoken of St. *Malachias* my predecessor in the see of *Down*, in his life written by St. *Bernard; Apostolicas sanctiones & decreta SS. pp. in cunctis Ecclesiis statuebat.* I hope to do something of this for your help and service, if God gives me life and health, and opportunity: but for the present I have done. These rules if you observe, your doctrine will be ἀκαλάγνως, it will need no pardon, and ἀνέγκλητος, never to be reproved in judgment. I conclude all with the wise saying of *Bensirach;* Extol not thyself in the counsel of thine own heart, that thy soul be not torn in pieces as a bull straying alone.*

* Ecclus. vi. 2.

THE END.

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